

# **Citizenship Rights and Housing Tenure**

by Jeremy Donoghue B.A. (Hons.)

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University of Tasmania (Hobart)

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# **Citizenship Rights and Housing Tenure**

## **Thesis Abstract**

This research analyses Australian understandings of citizenship in the context of different housing tenures. The thesis combines the theoretical work of Marshall and Mannheim to address variations and tensions in citizenship. Variations in the understanding and practice of citizenship among homeowners, homebuyers, private renters and social housing tenants are examined using both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The research highlights the relationship between citizens in different housing tenures to several key aspects of modern citizenship: membership, participation and security in their local community. The opportunities for citizens to actively participate, achieve a sense of membership and feeling of security within their local community are examined. The thesis contrasts the different understandings and experience of financially independent homeowners and homebuyers with citizens in both social and private rental housing. The analysis identifies tensions and ideals around the notions of a 'good citizen' and civic virtue. The value of the Australian 'dream' of home ownership is also explored.

The main conclusions are that private renters experience less security and membership than public tenants, homeowners or purchasers in terms of their housing rights and engagement with the local community. Homeownership is strongly equated with notions of security and reflects higher levels of formal civic participation in charitable organisations than people in other tenures, including homebuyers. Homebuyers are focused on work and professional related activities and sport rather than charitable or community work. The strong feelings of tenure-based security among public tenants do not translate into high levels of formal civic participation, rather the opposite, although it does foster informal cultural activities and identification with the local community in contrast to private renters. These findings suggest that more substantive research needs to be undertaken into the 'benefits' of private rental and home purchase schemes to demonstrate the effectiveness of current housing policy in 'deepening' the quality of community life.

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# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction: Citizenship and Housing Tenure**

### **Introduction**

Citizenship is currently a key concept in government on how to restore social cohesion within the nation state (Liberal Party 2001a; Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs 1995). However there are major tensions within liberalism in the use of citizenship and importantly in the outcomes of liberal policies and practices around citizenship if these are implemented. I will be arguing that these tensions are evident in the way that Marshall (1950, 1972) discusses citizenship, and that Mannheim's (1927, 1928) early work can be used to develop this critique.

These issues are particularly relevant to housing policy in that the current liberal Commonwealth government seeks to strengthen citizenship through encouraging home ownership and private rental (Howard 2001). Later chapters will investigate this claim through an analysis of survey data, and an empirical study of attitudes towards citizenship. It will be argued that the policy of encouraging home purchase and private rental does not necessarily benefit the wider community and in certain cases can be harmful.

This thesis will further argue that there is an alternative approach using Marshall and Mannheim between the government's thinking on citizenship (which is allied with Durkheim, Parsons, and communitarianism) and Marxism (allied with idealism and critical theory). The second line of argument is that none of these 'isms' do

empirical research or explore attitudes on the ground using qualitative methods to support their claims regarding the benefits of certain housing tenures in terms of social cohesion and stronger citizenship ties. This suggests that there is a separation between high theory and empiricism in the area of citizenship, which could learn from related fields like housing studies.

A renewed interest in the sociology of citizenship is in part fuelled by an elite belief (on the part of some intellectuals, senior bureaucrats and politicians) in the power of citizenship to integrate disparate and 'new' citizens into local communities and democratic institutions, especially in multicultural societies (Alexander 1997: DIEA 1995: Liberal Party 2001a). However, other researchers have suggested that the power of citizenship to bind the national community may be problematic (Barbalet 1988: Turner 1993). Like the concept of class solidarity, citizenship may promise more than it can deliver in strategic, civic or cultural terms. The extent of the opportunities available for disadvantaged citizens to actively participate in the local community and workforce suggest that the levels of participation and types of membership open to 'marginalised' and 'new' citizens in the national community are limited. The concept is all the more problematic given recent demands that unemployed and marginalised citizens perform duties and participate in activities in order to access and maintain particular social rights, such as income support (Reference Group on Welfare Reform 2000).

Citizenship ideals and community welfare reform policies contain normatively and value loaded images of how citizens should be and what are the desirable civic

virtues. This thesis will investigate the citizenship norms and ideals of citizens in a range of housing tenures. Substantial variation between policy intent and outcomes would challenge the argument that participatory citizenship unites and binds, and therefore should be encouraged in order to counter social disadvantage, welfare dependency and promote social cohesion. These are traditional themes that examine the relationship between political rhetoric and reality, aims and actions, and they highlight the role of the researcher in policy debates.

An empirical analysis of the views and activities of a range of citizens in receipt of a range of benefits associated with citizenship, from the civil rights of property owners and rental tenants to social rights such as income support and housing assistance, will identify and locate any particular tenure based understandings and practices of citizenship. These understandings will be referenced within the context of the recent reforms of community welfare by the Federal government (RGWR 2000). The research will assess the power of citizenship rights to integrate financially independent and dependent citizens in the local community and nation state: it will analyse the extent to which government and non government initiatives provide opportunities and improve the life chances of citizens differentiated by housing tenure in their local community.

The study thus covers three inter-related areas:

1. The form and nature of understandings of citizenship rights and duties among homeowners, homebuyers, private renters and social housing tenants;

2. The pattern of these understandings and their location in relation to key elements of citizenship rights: including housing, income and education as well as demographic factors such as age, gender, place of birth, education and occupation;
3. The types of civil, political and social activities undertaken by citizens who participate in their local community and the relationship of participation with the Australian 'dream' of home ownership (see Greig 1995).

In each of these areas, the analysis and research are derived from the theoretical constructs discussed below. These theoretical constructs are then combined into a more coherent set of propositions, for testing against the data collected in interviews, quantitative analysis of Australian Electoral Survey data (Bean, McAllister and Gow 2002) and public policy (Howard 1999, 2001; Winter 2000).

I propose to fill a gap in the existing literature and research on housing tenure and citizenship. The citizenship literature tends to focus on elite or academic notions and typically overlooks the experience of ordinary citizens in Australia (Winter and Stone 1998, 1999). The housing literature tends to concentrate on home ownership, the housing market and the housing industry, and overlook the contribution of private and social housing tenants (see Marston 1994). This thesis will highlight the relationship between financially independent and dependent citizens in different housing tenures in terms of several key aspects of citizenship: membership, participation and security. This thesis will contrast how citizenship and housing theory have developed, informed current debates and how the two fields relate to

each other. The relevance of citizenship, and in particular social rights, to social problems and housing policy development in advanced societies needs to be stated and analysed.

In short, the project will investigate the understandings and activities of citizens in homeownership and in rental housing, chart their patterns and analyse their social location. This analysis will assist in identifying benefits and tensions around the notions of 'good' citizens, 'active' citizens and civic virtue. It will also address the question of whether or not the opportunities and social rights provided by the state to disadvantaged citizens, such as public housing, promote their membership, participation and security in the local community and market economy, or further alienates them.

The research question informing this thesis will run counter to the belief that citizenship rights are a panacea for cultural tensions in states. These rights are promoted as universalistic 'ties that bind' culturally diverse individuals to the nation state (DIEA 1995). They are also seen as essential ingredients of 'a sense of patriotism in the community' (SSCFAD 1980) and tools for restoring political commitment and civic culture. In the United Kingdom and Australia homeownership is promoted as a civic virtue and the language that politicians use to present homeownership in the media is an important issue (see Dyrenfurth 2005).

The way citizenship rights are perceived and understood by homeowners and social housing tenants may be related to particular images, ideals and language. The

hypothesis can be stated in terms of social housing and private rental tenants' perceptions of social rights, which it is argued, will vary from the views of homeowners and homebuyers. Homeowners may have more abstract and confounded images of social rights, which are connected with freedom and lifestyle issues, to the more pragmatic and embedded images of renters who focus on the rule of law and entitlements, such as income support and housing assistance.

The ideals of citizenship rights, notions such as freedom and equality, relate to the normative expectations of citizens in relation to social rights and civic virtues. One may analyse such ideals by looking at the form and value-normative content of these images. For example, do citizens have a clear and concise understanding of citizenship or is it a vague unfamiliar concept, which is rarely articulated? The relationship between the dependent images (what is) and ideals (what ought to be) must be addressed to identify the degree of frustration and alienation that such a gap (if discerned) may be generating. According to Wearing (1981, 73), a strong sense of citizenship could generate conflicts, especially if it is associated with incompatible expectations and loyalties. Punitive administrative reforms undermining social rights also have the potential to heighten social inequality, tensions and confusion.

Therefore, the research is based on three sets of guiding propositions. The first set of guiding propositions for this research are that citizens located in private rental and social housing are likely to have understandings of citizenship rights, which subtly differ in nature and form to homeowners and home buyers images and ideals. This



variation can be captured by a simple two-dimensional typology of images: public vs. private and renter vs. owner. Ownership notions may be informed by strong civic and political understandings of rights and duties that, as they represent the majority of citizens, will have consequences and outcomes for less independent citizens. The first area investigated in the thesis will be how citizens in particular housing tenures understand the form and nature of citizenship (see point 1, above).

The thesis will also investigate the pattern of citizenship images, and how they vary according to other factors mentioned (see point 2). I propose that the content of citizenship will vary along two important dimensions: form of membership (active/dynamic vs. passive/static) and nature of the participation (civic/political vs. social/cultural). The public/rental images and ideals will not only be different but they will be contradictory to the private/owner policy perspective, thus raising the potential for division, confusion or tension within the nation state. The prospect of divisions becoming conflictual (especially at an individual level) will be increased by the degree of competition, need and resentment experienced in regard to citizens' entitlements, from tax incentives to income support and housing assistance.

The third area investigated will be the 'practice' of citizenship. This encompasses the activities undertaken and opportunities for citizens to participate, gain a sense of belonging, and perform their membership duties within the nation state. Increased demands on the unemployed to participate in 'work for the dole' projects are rhetorically intended to break the cycle of long term 'dependency' on the state and promote a sense of reciprocity and solidarity in the individual. As Marston (2004,

88) notes ordinary people are 'to be held to account for their social obligations to each other in the name of the collective good and nation building.' However, the compulsive nature of government schemes, punitive income support related measures and limited number of full time employment opportunities may further alienate marginalised citizens who are not bound into the economic and civic life of their local community. If the disadvantaged are to be held to account for the collective good then so must those 'rendered extraordinary by their wealth, their power, their luck or their talent' (Peel 2003, 175).

Full time employment and home ownership, which became normative expectations in post war Australia, are equated with independence and full membership in the community (Saunders 1990). These normative beliefs have another side that equates unemployment and social housing, especially public housing, with dependency and the status of 'second class citizens'. This research will contrast the provision of private and social housing, which Chesterman and Galligan (1999) neglect in their review of documents relating to Australian social rights. The images of social rights and their distribution among citizens in social housing will also provide a useful contribution to the Australian sociology of citizenship and housing. The sense of membership, types of participation and levels of security experienced by people in rental housing will be contrasted with responses from property owning and home buying citizens.

### **The meaning of citizenship**

Citizenship is regarded as both a status and a practice, which provides rights, protection, and a sense of equality, belonging and membership in a nation state. The state guarantees a 'bundle' of civil, political and social rights and safeguards their realisation. The citizen's rights include the right to justice by due process of the law, freedom of speech, association, movement and conscience, the right to vote and stand for political office. This also includes the right to economic welfare and security, and as Marshall (1973, 69) says "to share in the states social heritage and live the life of a civilised being via access to education and social services", such as income support and social housing.

The narrow legal definition of citizenship is often contrast with the wider social and cultural understanding of the concept (Senate Legal and Constitutional Reference Committee 1995). There is a tension between the legal status that defines the contractual relations between the individual and the state, and the broader processes of social and civic participation, which spring from social democracy (SLCRC 1995, 35). Another tension is the nationalistic and exclusionary nature of citizenship, which is only possible within the structure of the nation state, in contrast to an international and inclusive notion of the concept (SLCRC 1995, 36). There is also a paradox in the concept of citizenship as it conveys a strong sense of civil and political equality while citizens experience social and economic inequalities in the capitalist system (SLCRC 1995, 51).

One may see citizenship as a transaction, a deal or social contract. In exchange for citizenship rights, the state places obligations and duties upon the citizens. It may

call on them to make sacrifices for the collective good, which go well beyond paying tax, voting, obeying the law and performing jury duty. Citizens may be called on to perform military service and make the ultimate sacrifice for the state in war. If citizens do not fulfil their obligations their rights may be reduced or suspended. Such a deal is intended to bind citizens within the nation state (Marshall 1950). In the case of dependent citizens the withdrawal or reduction of particular social rights such as income support may be critical. The dependent citizen is increasingly being sanctioned by the administrative arm of the state for non-compliance with tasks and requirements rather than breaches of the criminal or civil laws. While non citizens such as refugees are denied access or expelled from our borders (Liberal Party 2001a).

As mentioned above, this research may run counter to the widespread belief that citizenship rights and a strong civic identity is necessarily an antidote for conflict and tensions within nation states. They are seen as universalistic 'ties that bind' culturally diverse individuals to the nation state (DIEA 1995). They are also seen as essential ingredients of a sense of patriotism in the community (SSCFAD 1980) and as tools for enhancing the democratic tradition, political commitment and civic culture (JSCM, 1995). The Coalition government believes that "Australian Citizenship is the most significant bond that unities us as a nation" (Liberal Party 2001a). I am inclined to take seriously Wearing's (1981, 73) warning that a strong sense of civic identity has the potential to generate conflicts, especially if it is associated with incompatible loyalties or civic expectations and increased social and economic inequality.

Heater (1990) claims that 'citizenship' has served as a key marker of membership and participation in polities that range from pre-modern city-states and empires through nation-states to still uncertainly delineated forms of transnational federalism. The history of debate over its meaning is just as long. 'Citizenship' is an essentially contested concept, with its meanings disputed (Lister 1997: Isin 2002). Aristotle (1972, 111-112) had a pragmatic solution to the problem of defining citizenship: 'What effectively distinguishes the citizen proper from all others is his participation in giving judgment and in holding office'. Since this simply shifts the issue to what 'participation' means, and since any account of 'participation' necessarily implies politico-moral disputes, the vagueness remains. Marshall (1950, 28) left the question just as open when he defined citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community". If 'membership' may be formally or procedurally specified, 'community' has all the vagueness of both popular and social scientific usage.

In contrast, there are definite notions of what constitutes a good and a bad citizen, and what citizens are entitled to as members of the nation state. These notions are often conceptualised by the academic and political elites in terms of legal, political and social rights and duties or in relation to citizen's ability to 'actively' participate in society and perform their obligations. Citizens have been regarded and portrayed as both 'good' active participants in state and civic affairs and 'bad' recipients of state protection and security. The modern interpretation of citizenship by Bodin (cited in Walzer 1970, 205) suggests that "a citizen is one who enjoys the common

liberty and protection of authority." For Tilly (1996) citizenship "can refer to a category, to a tie, to a role, or to an identity." The citizen may perceive membership in terms of a civil, political, social or cultural tie, a class category, and a political or social practice or in relation to their role in a political party, occupation, profession or community. The sense of identity, solidarity and degree of loyalty that citizenship provides or develops in members of a state is not clear and may be confused with issues of cultural identity, nationalism and ethnicity. Citizenship identity should be distinguished from national, ethnic, and class identity for purposes of analytical clarity.

The perception of civic identity and membership may be based on an awareness of particular civil, political, social or cultural rights and the manifest or latent opportunities to act on them, which is provided by the state. However, civic consciousness, as Graetz (1986, 46) argued (with regard to class), 'may be informed by elements of belief and desire as well as fact', cultural or political beliefs as well as economic desire need to be differentiated from civic and citizenship consciousness. How Australian citizenship relates to national integration, active participation and mutual obligations in civic affairs on one hand or passivity, exclusion and alienation on the other hand needs to be determined.

Citizenship is arguably an 'ideal' vehicle for the state to promote integration within the national community (Stokes 1997). It not only institutionalises social norms, which regulate behaviour, but also provides a meaningful identity and purpose to members of the nation state. The problem is how do states develop coherent civic

identities in the context of a rapidly expanding global information and cultural exchange and mass migration? The answer used to lie in the close relationship between citizenship and nationalism but that has become problematic, as is discussed below.

The relationship between Australian citizenship and nationalism requires investigation because citizenship may be confused with the 'sentiment' of that 'imagined community' the nation (Anderson 1988). Smith (1996, 575) argues that nationalism is based on shared cultural beliefs, meanings, language and the myths of a 'special people' and a 'sacred homeland'. The multicultural state is caught between the desire for social integration and the expectations of the culturally diverse citizens. If it promotes civic identity to avoid cultural claims and conflicts, it runs the risk of a backlash by the traditionally dominant Anglo-Saxon and Celtic communities in Australia (Day 1998). If it promotes a new cultural identity it faces potential conflict over the content and ability of new citizens to access that (valued) ethnic identity. Citizenship based on a new civic identity may result in inequalities between members and non-members (citizens and non-citizens) based on differentiated access to civil, political, and social rights. Members may be differentiated between the active and inactive citizens, and the benefits of full membership limited to the active as an incentive and punishment for the inactive.

The issue of cultural and social change in Australia is politically significant because it touches on the sensitive issues of national identity and the rights associated with full

membership of the nation state. The introduction of a new civic identity separate from the traditional cultural identity may also introduce new economic and social benefits for citizens, which discriminate against and alienate non citizens and those citizens who are deemed 'incompetent' due to inactivity or non participation e.g. the unemployed, disabled, sick, lone parents and in the future the aged.

Aboriginal claims, multiculturalism, republicanism and the role of working women have challenged the cultural identity of traditional white, male Anglo Australians. Australians may traditionally have perceived or imagined their membership in the state in cultural rather than civic terms for most of the 20th century but that has now become problematic. The restoration of traditional Australian cultural beliefs is not possible due to the social, economic and cultural changes, which have taken place during the last 50 years; the era of full employment and 'homogenised' culture has passed. Donald Horne (1997, 25) suggests that Australians were united by four great cultural beliefs in the early 20th century, which have been 'gutted of meaning'. The cultural beliefs consisted of the White Australia Policy, the British Empire, the bushman-digger myth and the cult of national development. These four beliefs have been shaken by mass migration, the collapse of the British Empire, and the limitations of suburban living, economic recession and high unemployment.

The virtues of citizenship are considered an ideal vehicle to promote a new national identity based on individual rights and obligations. The civic virtues suggest that all members of the state are equal before the law, and in regard to voting, education, health care, and income support and employment opportunities. Citizenship



provides a legitimate avenue by which all members of the state can be integrated, and enjoy equal opportunities and share in a common national identity. The problem for the nation state is that it becomes the sole agent for civic culture and entitlements. Civic identity must be developed in the face of demands for traditional cultural identity and increased distributive claims by those marginalised by the traditional culture, such as the unemployed, women, and migrants, gays and Aboriginal people. The nation state needs to ensure social solidarity and equal opportunity for all members of the state. Cultural identity in the form of nationalism creates special tension and promotes social exclusion. However challenges to claims by the unemployed, disabled and sole parents appear popular with the electorate when these income entitlements are linked with the individual's participation and obligations to the state (RGWR 2000).

Full citizenship, which is increasingly linked to civic participation and obligations, may increasingly determine the level of access to social rights, entitlements and identity. Public access to civil, political and social rights was increased very slowly (Marshall 1950) in order to promote social solidarity and ease social pressure. The images and content of citizenship may relate as much to ideal claims and material entitlements as to social solidarity and national security. Citizenship could be used to promote greater inclusion or to exclude certain individual's access to a range of social rights, resources and a civic identity.

### **Critical perspectives**

Citizenship is variously considered an ideal force to promote moral regulation (Lockwood 1992, 31), and political commitment (Walter 1996), or develop civic culture and civil society (Birrell 1995, Cox 1995, Alexander 1997). It is even suggested that citizenship is a type of civil or secular religion (Bellah 1985, Turner 1993, Alexander 1997). Citizenship is an abstract concept to some analysts (Civics Expert Group 1994, Marx in Lefevbre 1966) but others claim it has the power to neutralise religious, class and even ethnic conflicts (Heater 1990, Kymlicka 1995). Thus citizenship may ideally bind or divide the state on a number of different levels. The formal and substantive elements of citizenship need to be considered.

Marxist and neo-functional theories of citizenship development stress certain ideals or properties inherent in citizenship. These ideals suggest a number of possibilities, which vary by understanding being inclusive or exclusive, and orientation being active or passive. For example an inclusive but passive form of capitalism promotes inequality, which may spark conflict (Barbalet 1988) or social integration (Alexander 1988). The contradictions and expectations associated with citizenship ideals also reflect theoretical debates concerning the cohesion, integration and status of citizens. The sense of integration or division within the nation state is related to the power of citizenship rights to act as a force for inclusion or exclusion.

Barbalet (1988) is critical of Marshall for taking the role of the state for granted in the struggle for the development of citizenship. He claims that Marx and Weber agree that the political state enhances the capitalistic class, and "out of the alliance between the state and capital arose the national citizen, the bourgeoisie" (Weber cited in

Barbalet 1988, 110). However, it is the state, rather the 'dominant classes' or bourgeoisie, that bears the responsibility towards the 'subordinate classes'. Barbalet (1988, 78) claims that the state developed social welfare provisions to take the harsh edge off capitalism and promote 'a level of consumption which flattens out the boom-slump cycle in the economy'. He (1988, 39) shows that the modern state requires the support of significant social classes in order to rule and 'will manipulate popular commitment by the extension of citizenship rights', especially in times of national crisis, but notes that the struggle for citizenship can also result in the loss of rights or the exclusion of migrants. Barbalet (1988) clearly demonstrates that modern citizenship developed in response to both popular pressures for a share in the material benefits of mass production and the state's need for security.

This research argues that citizenship rights can be inclusive or exclusive (it can bind or divide) in terms of the active or passive (dynamic or static) orientation and motivation of citizens and elite groups. Civic culture accepts diversity and yet it mobilises notions of participation and production to facilitate inclusion, membership and social solidarity. It avoids the exclusive and sensitive issue of unAustralian culture and minority groups, which raise questions of loyalty, assimilation and community obligations. It offers a culturally neutral relationship, which binds the individual to the state via social institutions and democratic practices, rather than cultural ties, and promotes opportunities for membership and national identity to the marginalised citizen who is not a dynamic member of the community but is still a member by birth (Brubaker 1992).

The post-war economic boom promoted the ideals of equality and freedom based on civil and social rights such as free education. The nation state is alarmed by the growing demands for protection and security in the form of entitlements, which reduce the dangers of market failure and soften the harsh edge of capitalism but allegedly promote dependency and apathy (Barbalet 1988). Developed nations are increasingly demanding that inactive citizens meet specific obligations in order to access certain social rights. The high demand and cost of entitlements has also promoted a backlash against 'passive' citizens who are 'dependent' on the state. They are portrayed as either the 'victims' of the global economy or 'villains' robbing the community welfare system (RGWR 2000).

Politicians and elite groups believe that the basic tenants of citizenship, which relate to full membership and the ability to participate in the affairs of the nation state, can be used to promote greater social cohesion and the reform of the community welfare sector in Australia (RGWR 2000). However, this attempt to promote greater levels of participation and membership among 'dependent' citizens, who are in receipt of social security support, may not result in greater solidarity and social cohesion. The extension of social obligations at the expense of social rights and in the face of established social expectations requires a corresponding increase in the number of opportunities provided to the marginalised. When the social contract is renegotiated participants expect to gain something in exchange for what they lose. The Howard government has increased the level and frequency at which sanctions are applied to dependent citizens who are not engaged in the workforce and provide incentives to employers rather than additional resources to disadvantaged citizens

(Brennan 1998).

Citizens in recipient of entitlements are 'encouraged' by the withdrawal or cancellation of social security benefits to participate in employment and training 'activities' to maintain access to inalienable social rights, such as income support. The increased demand on marginalised citizens to participate in employment, education or training programs requires additional government resources to ensure appropriate opportunities are accessible. Otherwise, dependent citizens may become further disillusioned and alienated by governments applying market based remedies when they may have already 'failed' in a market based system. Following Marston (2004, 83), I want "to flag the relationship between material disadvantage and participation in public and cultural life as an increasingly important, but often unrecognised dimension of social exclusion discourse."

### **Tensions within liberalism**

The commitment and capacity of developed nation-states to the universal provision of social rights has declined over the past two decades according to advocates of neo-liberalism (Saunders 1993). The executive arm of government is attempting to renegotiate the social contract with its citizens, especially those that are considered dependent members. The classical understanding of citizenship articulated by Aristotle (1964, 111) can be mobilised to suggest a politically active citizen 'who has the ability and the chance to participate in government', rather than the image of a passive modern citizen who enjoys the civil, political and social rights of full

membership in a national community (Marshall 1950). However, the perception of citizenship in terms of full membership may be based more on an awareness of particular civil, political, social and cultural rights and the manifest opportunities to act on them, which are provided by the state (rather than the market). Cultural, collective and political beliefs and rights, as well as material demands and desires, need to be differentiated from civic and citizenship consciousness. How new, marginalised and independent citizens relate to elite notions of membership, participation and security or exclusion, passivity and protection also needs to be determined.

Explanations of the development of social rights may not adequately account for the images and ideals of citizenship exhibited by social housing tenants. Existing studies appear to focus on elite perspectives, which relate to a political or ideological position, or a desired outcome, such as greater participation and unity (Dyrenfurth 2005: Liberal Party 2001a). This project suggests that it is necessary to combine the work of several theorists to develop a comprehensive framework of understandings and images of citizenship rights. Such a framework will be used to explain the continuing demand for the distribution of benefits (idealistic and material) associated with citizenship. These demands must be understood in the context of dynamic political, economic and social changes in developed nation states over the past three decades and the subsequent pressure on dependent citizens to become more active, more independent and more willing to participate and perform their obligations as members of the nation state (RGWR 2000). The provision of social rights and in particular housing assistance will be explained in terms of three

theoretical traditions: liberal, radical and conservative in chapter three.

It is also necessary to locate substantive social rights, such as income support and housing assistance, in the wider political context of citizenship rights because they allow disadvantaged citizens to participate in the cultural and economic life of their local community. The work of T.H Marshall (1950) on the development of citizenship status from exclusive and idealistic to inclusive and social is important as Marshall provides a classic point of departure in both citizenship and housing debates. Marshall's (1950, 1972) early work on the civil, political and social elements of citizenship are combined here with his later work on the capitalistic, democratic and welfare 'value problems' of the hyphenated society that in turn owes a debt to Durkheim's (1957) work on the changing forms of social solidarity over the course of social development in advanced societies.

Turner's (1990, 1993a, 1997, 2001) arguments regarding the process and practice of citizenship are similarly contrasted with the arguments of Mannheim (1929) on dynamic thought styles. Mannheim (1928, 248-50; 1929, 117-46) argued that knowledge was dynamic because it is contested by intellectuals in a range of contemporary political movements. Both Turner and Mannheim suggest a framework for identifying active (or dynamic) vs. passive (or static) understandings, images and ideals (in the elements) of citizenship, which are operationalised by examining the levels of membership, participation and security experienced by citizens in four different housing tenures. These theories are important because they provide the conceptual framework to explain citizenship in terms of different

locations, as determined by their housing tenure. The way citizenship rights are perceived and understood by social housing tenants may be different to the images and ideals of citizenship held by homebuyers. The perceptions of social rights may vary from abstract, conceptual or vague images, which are connected with freedom or democracy to more crystallised and concrete images of the rule of law and social entitlements, such as income support, public health care and education.

In chapter two the work of T.H. Marshall on citizenship will be examined in more detail. Critics of Marshall's two models of citizenship will be reviewed and the early work of Karl Mannheim will be mobilized to further develop Marshall's schema. Marshall (1973, 106) noted, 'town planners are fond of talking about a 'balanced community' as their objective'. Fifty years of social planning has not produced 'balanced' public housing estates. Rather than integrate the vulnerable the state may have reinforced structural disadvantages experienced by dependent citizens in subsidised private rental and public housing, and promoted intergenerational poverty. To counter these trends Lister (1990, 2001) calls for the re-association of citizenship with welfare entitlements and universal access to educational and cultural provision.

By combining Marshall's (1950, 1973) work on the development of citizenship with Mannheim's (1952, 1972) work on the sociology of knowledge, I will argue that the three different political interpretations of the citizenship; liberal, socialist and conservative, can be held in dynamic tension, in order to accommodate a variety of understandings of citizenship. Thus the development of citizenship rights implies a



spiral of three political 'thought-styles', where the individual and calculating rationality of Marshall's liberal economic/political man is emergent with both the irrational sharing of symbols definitive of culture (in Parsons) and the dialectical rationality of collective action (in Marx).

The classical social theories that Marshall (1950, 1965) variously invoked are richly reworked in contemporary citizenship studies (see Turner 2001: Lister 2001).

However the work of Mannheim has been overlooked to explain the contested nature of citizenship studies. In Mannheimian (1952) terms the development of citizenship is an effect of the struggle between three types of 'thought-style': the individual and calculating rationality of liberalism (the economic), the irrational sharing of symbols of conservatism (the cultural), and the dialectical rationality of collective action (the political). Citizenship as both a concept and a practice emerges from the interaction between these three 'thought styles'.

This reading of Mannheim is a way of making explicit what has always been a feature of debates over citizenship, and that are still relevant. Since 'thought styles' have a social and intellectual base I suggest that different understandings of citizenship will be clustered among particular class/status locations, which reflect different housing tenures and other socio-economic indicators. The combination of Marshall and Mannheim allows citizenship to have a variety of meanings and moves beyond Marshall's fluid definition of citizenship as 'full membership of a community.' It enables me to show how citizenship is understood, practiced and contested, by citizens in different housing tenures (as well as in academic accounts),

in their struggle for membership, participation and security in local communities.

### **Housing tenure and liberalism**

Marston (2004, 81) points out that “whether housing is understood as a basic human right or a private responsibility has significant consequences for what we mean by social citizenship.” History, context, practice and texts are all important variables that constitute what the term 'social' means, and what is regarded as 'social' in terms of social policy development matters to all members of society (Marston 2004, 81).

The social housing ‘safety net’ in contrast to homeownership and private rental is considered a relatively small but 'important' part of the Australian housing system. The provision of social housing and social security has been important in ‘reducing the risks’ associated with unemployment. For Barbalet (1988, 52-53) people who possess property, such as the family home, ‘enjoy a number of advantages over those who do not’. The main benefits provided by the ownership of housing is the ability to borrow money against it, which in turn allows owners ‘to spend in excess of their current income’ (Barbalet 1988, 53).

The ownership of property impacts on the stratification rather than the class system. Barbalet (1988, 53) points out that the ‘possession of property varies by degrees throughout the population’ and means that the possible levels of inequality in society are numerous even though the ‘differences between contiguous grades are not necessarily large’. I will argue that variation in housing tenures may reflect

differences in citizens' understanding and practice of citizenship, but before I elaborate a working typology of tenure based citizenship images it is important to briefly provide a theoretical overview of housing provision.

Paris (1993) argues that there is no unified theory that explains the provision of housing in Australia. According to Paris (1993, 17-37) the housing field is cross cut by three major theoretical approaches, which are articulated in terms of (a) the housing market, (b) the housing system and (c) the structural provision of housing. The 'housing market' approach is basically an economic explanation, which considers housing to be driven by the forces of supply and demand. The 'housing systems' approach is more administrative in that it breaks housing down into its component parts, such as actors, resources and relationships. The 'structural provision of housing' approach is more sociological and focuses on the production and consumption of different tenure types; such as ownership, private rental and social housing.

This research suggests that a working typology of tenure based citizenship images and ideals can be developed by combining Marshall's (1973, 92) 'integrating effect' with Mannheim's (1952) work on 'dynamic thought' styles from the sociology of knowledge. Another dimension is provided by adapting Turner's (1997, 15) active vs. passive and public vs. private dimensions of citizenship and Saunders (1990) work on the active/private vs. passive/public elements of housing tenure. The typology below (Figure 1.1) attempts to accommodate a range of possible images of citizenship among people in different housing tenures. The proposition to be tested

in my research is that responses will be clustered in relation to emphasis or language, which may differ in content: private vs. public housing; and in form: owner vs. renter images of citizenship.

The typology of images is intended to provide a framework that initially sensitises the researcher to the variety of abstract and ideal citizenship images that may be articulated and ordered in contrast to concrete and pragmatic policy intentions. The images will vary from an emphasis on abstract political and civic images, to concrete material images that relate citizenship rights to entitlements and safety.

**Figure 1.1: Images of tenure based citizenship**

	Private	Public
Owner	Freedom	Equality
Renter	Security	Protection

The typology proposes that the private owners will equate citizenship with liberal freedoms as full members in the economy and local community (it is worth noting however that homeownership itself is often equated with security). These images will utilise the language of formal community membership or political engagement. The government sponsored (public) first home buyer (owner) will relate citizenship to economic or lifestyle images, which reflect their sense of equality with other property owners and possibly notions of 'superiority' with regard to renters.

In contrast the private rental images will relate citizenship with security due to the civil rights that protect them from profit driven forces in the private rental market. Public rental images will be presented by citizens claiming the protection of social rights as member of the national community who are unable to participate in the workforce. They may be receiving support in the form of new start benefits, sickness or disability pensions, parenting payments and may be unable to participate formally, fully or legitimately in the market economy. The 'labels' provide a flexible framework and are not intended to limit the research findings but facilitate the development of a working typology to determine the potential 'content' of any tenure based citizenship types.

Marxist and neo-functional theories of citizenship development stress certain ideals or virtues inherent in citizenship (Mann 1987: Saunders 1993). Similar to the tenure-based images above these ideals suggest a number of possibilities, which vary in content being either civic (inclusive) or cultural (exclusive) and by form being active (dynamic) or passive (static). For example the power of a culturally dynamic form of citizenship may promote ethnic tensions, which in turn may cause conflict rather than social integration (Alexander 1988). The expectations associated with citizenship ideals also reflect theoretical debates concerning the solidarity and integration of citizens.

The sense of security and cohesion (or division) within the national community is related in Figure 1.2 to the power of citizenship to bind or divide. This model argues that citizenship can be inclusive or exclusive (it can bind or divide members) in

terms of form: civic or cultural participation, and in terms of nature: dynamic or static membership in the national or local community. It is important to note that Turner's (1990, 1993) active and passive categories create 'resistance' due to positive and negative connotations so I have used Mannheim's dynamic and static categories to inform the typology. Figure 1.2 below contains a typology of the expected civic ideals, i.e. core values that citizenship engenders. It follows the logic of Figure 1.1 (above) the typology of tenure-based images of citizenship.

**Figure 1.2: Ideals relating to citizenship**

	Dynamic	Static
Civic	Tolerance	Solidarity
Cultural	Fair Go	Loyalty

Civic culture rhetorically accepts diversity, yet it mobilises notions of formal participation and the production of 'the public good' to facilitate tolerance and social solidarity. It avoids the exclusive and sensitive issues of nationalism, (un)Australian culture and minority groups, which raise questions of loyalty, integration and cultural identity (Jones 1997). It offers a culturally neutral and rational relationship, which binds the individual to the state via social institutions and democratic practices, rather than nationalist, cultural or blood ties, and promotes opportunities for national identity to the static citizen who is reliant on state 'support'.

Developed nations are increasingly demanding that 'dependent' citizens meet

certain obligations in terms of participation, in order to access particular social rights. The executive arm of the nation state, especially Cabinet and Treasury are concerned by the growing demands for entitlements and protection, which soften the harsh edge of capitalism but allegedly, promote dependency and passivity (Barbalet 1988). The 'high' demand and cost of entitlements and support services have promoted a 'taxpayer' backlash against 'passive' citizens who are considered to be 'dependent' on the state.

It is proposed that the basic tenants of citizenship, which relate to full membership and the ability to participate in the affairs of the nation state, have been used to promote greater social cohesion and reform social security in Australia. However the desire of politicians and policy makers to promote greater levels of independence among disadvantaged citizens (in receipt of social security support) may not result in greater social solidarity or social cohesion. The extension of social obligations at the expense of social rights and in the face of established social expectations requires a corresponding increase in the number of opportunities provided to the marginalised. As the social contract is renegotiated active citizens also expect to gain something tangible in exchange for what they contribute. The Howard government has provided increased opportunities to citizens who can engage in private housing, health and education (Howard 2001). It has also increased the level and frequency at which sanctions are applied to dependent citizens who do not comply with public support criteria.

Citizens in receipt of entitlements are 'encouraged' to participate in 'activities' in

order to maintain access to what have in the past been perceived as inalienable social rights, such as income support. The increased 'demand' by the State for marginalised citizens to participate in employment, education or training programs raises expectations and claims for additional resources, to ensure they have the capacity to gain a position in the market place. Otherwise marginalised citizens will become further disillusioned and alienated by governments applying market-based remedies, when they may have already 'fallen out' of the public education system and private employment market.

### **Research questions**

Citizenship is a status by which the interface between the state and individual in civil society is negotiated and managed. It is both a role and a practice that provides rights, protection, and a sense of equality and membership in a nation state. The state guarantees a 'bundle' of civil, political and social rights and safeguards their realisation. The citizen's rights include the right to justice by due process of the law, freedom of speech, association, movement and conscience, the right to vote and stand for political office. This also includes the right to economic welfare and security, and, as Marshall (1973, 69) says 'to share in the states social heritage and live the life of a civilized being via access to education and social services', such as income support, public education, health and housing.

One may see citizenship as a transaction, a social compact, a contract or even a 'dream'. In exchange for citizenship rights, the state places obligations and duties



upon the citizens. It may call on them to make sacrifices for the collective good, which go well beyond paying tax, voting, obeying the law and performing jury duty. Citizens may be called on to undertake military service and make the ultimate sacrifice, to die fighting for the nation state. If citizens do not fulfil their obligations their rights may be withdrawn, reduced or suspended. Such a 'deal' is supposed to bind citizens together within the nation state. In the case of less independent citizens the loss of particular social rights such as income support or housing may be critical. The administrative arm of the state has the power to penalise or punish marginalised citizens for non-compliance with citizenship tasks and requirements.

The Australian government wishes to 'enhance, strengthen and revitalise' citizenship (AGPS 1994). The executive requires civic identity to replace the traditional national ties, which were based on culture. Prior to 1945 Australian cultural and civic identity generally overlapped. Mass immigration since 1950 has challenged the strength, validity and legitimacy of a national identity based purely on British cultural traditions, assertions and values. A gap has appeared between the cultural and civic identity of Australian citizens. The state is attempting to promote a new national identity based on citizenship, a civic identity, to overcome cultural diversity, increasing independence from and indifference to Britain. The government also wants to increase the sense of independence and levels of private ownership experienced by citizens in the nation state (Howard 1999). There is an 'ideal' political expectation that citizenship can unite the members of the state against the centrifugal forces released by globalization, mass migration and cultural pluralism. The actual power of the state to deliver material goods and services, such

as health, education and housing, according to neo liberals is shrinking due to the increasing cost of social rights on national budgets, the fragmentation of state membership due to regional, alternative or international loyalties, and the decreased legitimacy of the nation-state in the context of information technology linked to the global market and global culture.

The proposed research attempts to test how realistic such expectations may be considering the clarity, consistency and diversity of citizenship images and ideals, and considering the social distribution of these images and ideals in different housing tenures. I hypothesise that citizenship ideals have the potential to divide, as much as it may bind citizens. Expectations based on notions of personal freedom and social equality are politically loaded and in permanent tension. Demands for social rights and entitlements by competing 'interest' groups on the state's power and material resources will continue to increase. An increase in civic virtue, participation and loyalty in one section of the national community may result in demands by other sectional identities, cause resentment, insecurity and a backlash. This research will evaluate critically the theoretical accounts of citizenship rights and test the binding power of social rights among independent and marginalised citizens through the lens of four different housing tenures in Australia.

## **Chapter outline**

I will provide a brief outline of the thesis chapters before I conclude Chapter 1, which provides a general introduction. Chapter 2 reviews the approach and

application of citizenship by several theorists primarily focusing on the work of Tocqueville, Marshall, Mannheim, Turner and Barbalet. The diverse range of conceptual understandings relating to citizenship is used to support the claim that it is a contested concept (Lister 1997, Isin 2001). The meanings of citizenship are explored and the concept is operationalised in terms of citizen's practical participation, membership and security in the local community. Chapter 3 examines the relationship between housing and citizenship, and suggestions by Saunders (1990, 1993) and Kemeny (1981, 1983) that housing tenure can enhance or constrain the 'practice' of citizenship, specifically in terms of homeowners and public housing tenants levels of civic participation, types of membership and levels of security in the community.

Chapter 4 details the qualitative and quantitative methods used in the research. The quantitative analysis is based on data from the 2001 Australian Election Survey and the findings are presented in Chapter 5. The qualitative research is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 and provides more detail on the nature and content of civic participation and membership by citizens in different housing tenures. Chapter 8 presents a typology of citizenship which relates to people in different housing tenures. The typology sensitises the reader to the potential range of tenure based citizenship types. Chapter 9 is the conclusion and restates the main arguments and examines them in light of the research findings.

## Chapter Two

### The Concept of Citizenship

#### Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore debates about citizenship in greater depth than chapter one, by considering the work of Marshall (1950, 1973). It reviews Marshall's ideas, considers critiques by Turner, Barbalet and Mann, and argues that Marshall's work can be strengthened by Mannheim. Although they approach citizenship at an abstract level, Marshall and Mannheim suggest that social inequalities affect citizenship. These are complex abstract issues and need to be understood empirically.

In academic and political debates citizenship is often regarded as a contested concept (Lister 1997, Isin 2002). The work of de Tocqueville, Mannheim and Marshall provide a springboard to examine citizenship status and in particular social rights within the democratic and liberal framework of a modern nation state like Australia. In general terms Marshall (1950, 1973) suggested that citizenship extended in scope, and modified capitalism in Britain. Marshall offers a theoretical basis to examine citizenship within the context of modern nation states. Turner (1993) elaborated Marshall's theory and examined the development of citizenship in other modern states. While citizenship, for Mann (1987), was a ruling class strategy used to institutionalise class conflict, Barbalet (1988) highlights the struggle for rights by the disadvantaged and the inherent contradictions between citizenship and capitalism. Lister (1997) argues that citizenship

is not gender-neutral but is a deeply gendered concept, and Saunders (1990, 1993) grounds the citizenship debate within the context of private ownership and housing tenure. Turner (1993, 1997, 2002), Saunders (1990, 1993) and Troy's (2000) work are used to locate the question of citizenship within the context of social housing and homeownership debates in Australia, which are discussed in the next chapter. .

These theories provide the building blocks for a study of the meaning and understanding of citizenship rights in contemporary society and in particular in relation to citizens in different housing tenures. However, all these explanations assume certain understandings of citizenship rights and a high degree of what one could call 'citizenship consciousness'. I will argue, following Turner (1997), that the notion of citizenship has a Tocquevillian semantic 'halo'. According to Tocqueville (1981, 594), a range of individual freedoms have to be sacrificed in democracies so that 'the rights of society at large can be extended and consolidated'. The 'intruding' power of the democratic government requires a strong vibrant civil society to provide a counter balance to it. Tocqueville (1981, 594) argues that it is necessary for the 'true friends of liberty to be constantly on the alert to prevent the power of government from lightly sacrificing the private rights of individuals to the general execution of its design'.

The institutional protection of citizens is secured with the sacrifice of certain individual freedoms. The loss of individual freedoms requires the state to provide the citizen with institutional guarantees. Tocqueville (1981, 593) suggests a free press and strong

independent law courts can provide the necessary safeguards as well as promote a sense of equality. However, for Tocqueville the sense of equality enjoyed by citizens 'awakens in them several propensities extremely dangerous to freedom'. There is a tendency for people in democratic nations to 'despise and undervalue the rights of the private person and not readily comprehend the utility of form', which protect individual freedom but also cause delay in government action. The private rights and freedom of the individual need to be protected because they provide the 'manners' and 'expectations' upon which the national community is based. If the state violates individual rights, the community will not respect the law and will consider the government to be arbitrary and unjust. For Tocqueville (1981, 594) 'no citizen is so obscure that it is not very dangerous to allow him to be oppressed, and no private rights are so unimportant that they can be surrendered with impunity to the caprices of a government'.

### **Marshall's views of citizenship**

The contemporary understanding of citizenship, however, owes more to the English liberal Marshall than to Tocqueville. Marshall (1973, 84) defines citizenship as a 'status bestowed on those who are full members of a community'. Citizenship promotes equality and freedom to the extent to which rights and duties are sanctioned by the state. Although the struggle for rights is mentioned, the 'instruments of modern democracy', such as the courts, parliament and social services, are considered to have been 'fashioned' by the upper classes and handed down from above, to the lower

classes, rather than pulled out of their hands. This process allegedly limited the excesses of the capitalist economy and fashioned 'progress' towards modern democracy, in Britain. Marshall (1973, 71) claims that citizenship consists of three parts or elements: civil, political and social. He presents an image of evolutionary progress, from the civil to the political and finally to the social form, in Britain. Although civil rights established the 'rule of law', it was 'flawed' by class prejudices and the unequal distribution of wealth and income.

For Marshall (1973) the rule of law proved to be the 'solid foundation' for all further reforms and the 'core' of citizenship. It promoted the rights of the individual over customs and statutes, which were considered a 'menace to the prosperity of the nation'. Economic freedom is regarded as an important cause for changes to the Common Law, which proved 'elastic' enough to accommodate new social and economic attitudes. There is a contradiction and tension here between the 'flawed' rule of law and the 'solid foundation' for future reforms that it becomes. There is an implied 'dialectical' process in the 'flawed' rule of law that contains the elements for a 'solid' foundation, which evolves into political citizenship. If Marshall can become entangled in 'abstract' images the public may also have a range of perceptions about citizenship. However, an awareness of civil rights may indicate a well-developed understanding of citizenship.

The institutionalisation of the 'rule of law' had unexpected social consequences. The concept of legal equality stimulated the demand for political equality to protect civil

rights, such as freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Marshall (1973, 78) argues that political rights developed in the nineteenth century as a 'secondary product' of civil rights. The position of political rights, such as the right to vote, changed significantly after the 1918 Reform Act linked political rights 'directly and independently' to citizenship. The later adoption of manhood suffrage, says Marshall (1973, 78), 'shifted the basis of political rights from economic substance to personal status.' He does not explain in detail why this happened, but the sacrifice of adult males in the 'Great War' was a factor. The nation's demand for young men to fight was undermined by political and social inequality. The adoption of manhood suffrage provided gist, to what the war poet Wilfred Owen (1994: 24) called 'the old Lie: Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' [It is proper and fitting to die for your country].

The advance of political citizenship stimulated the 'demand' for social justice and greater material equality by the working class. Marshall (1973, 111) suggests citizenship promoted the principle of equality, and associated with the development of equality was the growth of trade unions. Their increased access to political power enabled 'workers to use their civil rights collectively'. The major coal miners, transport workers and dockers' strikes of 1912 had forced the British government to intervene in wage disputes and encouraged the trade union movement to become involved in politics. The work force gradually became 'assimilated and stratified', during a process of rationalisation and negotiation over wages and social justice. The outcome was that the government guaranteed a minimum supply of essential goods and services, in



education, health care, housing and pensions, to those who could not afford them. This modified capitalism by taking the harsh edge off unemployment and sickness. If the process of assimilation and stratification of the work force has continued then any variation in the understanding of citizenship may be ordered and finite.

Social rights revived at the end of the nineteenth century, Marshall (1973, 83) argues, with the introduction of compulsory public elementary education. Compulsory and free education flew in the face of 'laissez faire' principles but was introduced as 'political democracy needed an educated electorate and scientific manufacture needed educated workers and technicians'. The cost of public education was justifiable as a national investment in human capital. It was not simply the provision of support for the poor. Marshall (1973, 82) claims the state made education compulsory because it was realized that 'culture is an organic unity and its civilisation a national heritage'. The economy also required a literate and numerate workforce to perform increasing mechanized and complex tasks. For Marshall (1973, 82) free and compulsory education was the first decisive step in the development of social citizenship in the twentieth century. Similarly, Barnes and Kaase (1979) and Dalton (1988) argue that higher education promotes increased levels of civic awareness and political participation. The expansion of higher education in the 1960's was significant because it made people more aware of the civil, political and social benefits distributed by the state. Increased access to higher education stimulated civil and political demands by social movements throughout the

twentieth century, consisting of women, blacks, minorities, gays, greens and other disadvantaged groups, such as the disabled to gain equal rights and justice.

The 'integrating effect' of citizenship on British society was also noted by Marshall (1973, 92), who suggests the modern state required a 'bond' to replace the 'sentiment and fiction' of kinship. Citizenship was thought to provide a sense of community membership, and loyalty to a 'civilisation that is a common possession'. A sense of loyalty to the 'civilisation' was probably more tangible in 1950 Britain after the ordeal of the Second World War than in contemporary Australia. However Marshall (1973, 92) realised that loyalty was more likely to develop among 'free men endowed with rights and protected by a common law'. Marshall indicates that in the 20th century the public understanding of citizenship lays more stress on the development of social rights and social-economic protection rather than on political bonds of loyalty to the state. The promotion of a common culture and nationalism are 'combined', says Marshall (1973, 96) with a growth in workers incomes; increasing availability of mass-produced goods; and the compression of income distribution by direct taxation. I will argue that over time the meaning and understanding of citizenship has been contested and renegotiated in order to accommodate the 'dynamic changes' occurring within modern society (Mannheim 1952).

Marshall's ordering strategy shows him as a theorist of the modern, and enrolments of him repeat this effect. Despite the Aristotelian echoes in Marshall's definition, to say

'citizenship' in political sociology is to say 'modernity'. For Marshall modernity means that humans are separate from and masters of nature. As Turner (1993) noted, the classical theorists all at least implicitly treated modernization through the extension of citizenship, Marshall (1950, 1973) drew on the classical theorists, and their themes recur in all the commentaries on and departures from him. These themes arise in the familiar and conflicting axioms on 'the state of nature' in theorizations of the order of modernity: that since human life is by nature 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short' (Hobbs 1651/1962), social life is possible only if individuality is suppressed in the collectivity represented by the Leviathan (Rousseau 1762/1913); or that humans are by nature born free and yet are everywhere in the chains of that suppression (Marx 1848/1980).

Many writers have noted the teleological strain in modernization theory in general and in Marshall's 'progressive' evolutionary model in particular (Barbalet 1988). The corollary assumption of a distinct human nature, however, has attracted less attention in the field. Yet the drawing of an abstract line between humans and the rest of nature, or the assumption of a dualistic Great Divide, is a characteristic feature of accounts of modernity (Latour 1991). Marshall's use of this move from the classical accounts of the state of nature suggests another contradiction to his rhetoric, in the way that he naturalized social change through his evolutionary image while simultaneously separating humans from that nature. Further, by invoking the liberal 'political man' endowed with 'rights' who emerged from the state of nature he also invoked the

'economic man' in all his rationally calculating and utility-maximizing glory (Marshall 1950, 67).

Marshall invoked 'economic man' but his privileging of the self-interested creator of the wealth of nations over the sharer in moral sentiments created a problem in his argument. To take civil, political and social moments first as analytically distinct and then as historically successive is to privilege the analytical rationality defining 'political/economic man', and so to disrupt the rhetoric of 'stages'. Two related solutions to this difficulty are implicit in the literature. For example, when Parsons (1965) responded to Marshall by seeing a nation as a 'societal community', the 'cultural' element in citizenship that he stressed was effectively an emotional supplement to Marshall's analytical position. Pakulski (1997) reached a similar point in reading Marshall as a theorist rather than as an historian of citizenship, and then in taking his civil, political and social moments as co-emergent instead of successive. Marshall (1972) himself made both these moves, in his second tripartite model.

Here is the less cited and seemingly forgotten Marshall (Rees 1995). When he wrote on the 'value problems' in welfare-capitalism and the inconsistencies between the capitalism, democracy and welfare of the 'hyphenated society' (Marshall 1972, 1981), he imbued citizenship with a cultural aura and suggested that its civil/capitalist, political/democratic and social/welfare moments were interfused rather than successive. He implied in his second model that his civil, political and social moments

entailed forms of rationality other than the strictly analytical. Despite its promise, however, this shift in ordering strategy still left a privileging of 'political/economic man' divorced from the natural world. Thus while Marshall increasingly queried the individualized 'rights' assumed in his first tripartite model, he also increasingly approached an individually liberal and formally procedural restriction of 'citizenship' to the political sphere (Rees 1995). 'Collective rights', like those at issue in union activity, remained an anomaly (cf. Marshall 1950, 111).

The problem he faced and left uncertain, then, was how to reconcile his inclusion of the cultural and collective effects of citizenship with the individualism in both his analytical privilege and his proposed solution. As Donoghue and White (2003) suggest the more he invoked or suggested the classical tradition, the more acute this problem became, for he then displayed collective and cultural rationalities in his own practice while effectively denying them in the analytical rationality that follows from his dualistically modern sense of human nature. Even so, Marshall had suggested, but left undeveloped, a way of accommodating this effect: triadic ordering. Before applying Mannheim's dynamic ordering to Marshall's citizenship models it is worth noting several important critiques of Marshall's work.

### **The radical critique**

The only critique of Marshall included in this thesis is a 'radical' one. However, it should be recognised that the major critique of Marshall in the last 25 years has been from the 'Right'. According to his critics, the crucial aspect of the relationship of citizenship to popular culture, consumption, taxation and nationalism is not fully explored by Marshall. Turner (1990, 1993) suggests that Marshall failed to emphasise the 'struggle' to gain rights in Britain. Political rights were not 'handed down from above' or granted willingly by the ruling elites but were the outcome of a long (and at times violent) struggle by sections of the middle and working class to gain the right to vote and a living wage. Social conflict is thus considered a correlate of expanding citizenship - a point easily forgotten (or ignored) by contemporary exponents of the concept.

Turner (1993) elaborates the historical scheme described by Marshall. Turner (1993, 2) views citizenship as dynamic social construction, which 'changes historically as a consequence of political struggles'. Citizenship has been stimulated not by class struggle but by social movements, war and mass migration. Turner (1993, 8) also questions how citizenship can be at 'war' or modifying capitalism and support it at the same time. He reconciles the issue, by adding 'struggle' to Marshall's scheme, and concludes that citizenship is both a source of solidarity in the nation state, and a source of conflict over the distribution of resources, because it raises members expectations. The expansion of citizenship is linked by Turner (1993, 10) to the process of modernisation. He anticipates that citizenship will move beyond the limits of the nation state, as it moved beyond the walls of the city. The global citizen is a possibility only

when supra-national bodies develop the power to supply rights. As Weber (1968) argues the nation state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence and is thus able to supply and enforce citizens' rights.

Citizenship involves more than just 'rights and duties'; it should be viewed as a set of social practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) that define a person as a 'competent member of society'. These social practices not only determine civic competency, but also effect the distribution of resources to individuals and groups. Turner (1993, 3) is concerned with the content and form of social rights and obligations, the forces that produce these practices and the flow of resources to different sectors of society. Turner (1993, 9) suggests four types of citizenship each with different social and cultural traditions. These types of citizenship differ along two dimensions, whether they were developed from below or above (and are active or passive), and if they were developed in public or private space. Turner (1993) claims that Bismarck granted rights 'from above' to gain middle class support in Germany, while in France and America rights were taken by revolutionary struggle by the people 'from below.' Turner suggests that the limited political space of Eastern Europe required the private development of citizenship in contrast with liberal nations, like Britain, where the public space allowed the gradual development of rights. Turner's active or passive and public or private dimensions are used in this thesis to determine the form of Australian citizenship.

Giddens (1982) follows a more Weberian line of argument but also suggests that Marshall failed to emphasize the 'struggle' to gain rights in Britain. He claims that the 'struggle to win rights' is mentioned only in passing by Marshall (Giddens 1973, 92). The development of social rights was not inevitable and was driven by class conflict and the shock of war. Giddens (1982, 174) argues that it is 'more valid to say that class conflict has been a medium of the extension of citizenship rights than to say that the extension of citizenship rights has blunted class divisions'. It was the working class 'demands' and conflicts that these demands generated that caused the extension of citizenship by the state (Giddens 1982, 174). The ruling elite 'supply' of citizenship resulted in a gradual incorporation of adult (initially male) workers into a common (consumer) culture, this was seen as a positive outcome of class conflict. Consequently the civil, political and social forms of citizenship were seen in two ways: as 'levers' to promote the development of individual freedoms, and also as the 'points' which sparked conflict in society. The 'bourgeois freedoms' of 19th century citizenship, dismissed by Marx, are for Giddens (1982, 175) the focus of state activities and social strife in the late 20th century. Rather than being 'important ingredients' in the process of national integration, Giddens considers citizenship rights to be the subject of continuing conflict in the state. However, the continuing 'struggle' for citizenship rights by workers and social movements suggests an awareness or consciousness of citizenship, which has not been identified in the literature.



The liberal view of citizenship represented by Marshall in some respects overlaps with the Marxist position. Both understate the 'demand' and the struggle for civil, political and social equality. An emphasis on 'class struggle' and the shock of modern war is provided by Giddens (1982) and Barbalet (1988), who assume that class struggle equates with an awareness of citizenship. The liberal and Marxist views do not explain the growth and persistence of public demands for civil, political and social rights. Marxist accounts of citizenship are provided by Barbalet (1988) and Mann (1987) who argue that citizenship can undermine and blunt capitalism, but has also made it more durable. Following Marshall (1950), Barbalet maintains that citizenship causes a reduction in profits, which will eventually cause it to 'clash' with capitalism. He views citizenship as basically an attempt at hegemonic control. The bourgeois rights offered by the state 'paper over' the exploitation and domination of workers. Citizenship is viewed as an ideological tool of the dominant class to maintain the status quo. It soothes and 'binds' workers to the state with a veneer rather than the substance of equality.

Mann (1987, 340-343) criticises Marshall's theory of citizenship for being evolutionary and based solely on the British experience. He examines the role of the state in developing citizenship rights and social participation in Europe. By developing a historical and comparative framework Mann identifies five instrumental strategies used by pre industrial states (liberal, reformist, authoritarian monarchist, fascist and authoritarian socialist) to cope with the rise of the bourgeoisie and urban working class during the process of industrialisation. States are divided into two 'ideal types',

absolute or constitutional regimes. The ruling class in Britain had a constitutional regime with a liberal strategy, which provided civil and political rights to incorporate the bourgeoisie into the state. Trade union pressure and class conflict forced the ruling class to develop a reformist strategy, which delivered social rights and gradually 'meshed' the working class in the state.

In contrast, Germany had an absolute regime and authoritarian monarchist strategy, which provided limited political rights to the bourgeoisie. The collapse of the Weimar Republic was followed by an absolute regime with a fascist strategy; it limited political rights but developed certain social rights, such as full employment. The 'supply' of citizenship rights, according to Mann (1987), varies according to the historical context and comparative strategies employed by the state. The public understanding of citizenship may be influenced by the type of ruling class strategy employed and vary accordingly.

The 'demand' for citizenship may also vary according to the resources, expectations and opportunities that are available to individuals. Roche (1994, 212) argues that social movements and organisations need to be examined to gain an 'understanding of the contested and changing nature of social citizenship in modern society.' Movements are vehicles and resources for progressive claims by various social groups. The 'new social movements' and 'new politics' are depicted as correlates of civic engagement and activated 'civil society' (Dalton and Kuechler 1990). Another factor in the development

the public understanding of citizenship is suggested by 'value preferences'. Inglehart (1990) argues that the cycle of economic boom and bust may influence social value preferences. His theory of generational value change suggests another possible cause of the increasing 'demand' for citizenship rights. He feels that people born during a long boom are more likely to be post-materialist in attitude, due to the prosperity they enjoy as young children. The generation born during a severe depression or major war is more likely to be materialistic; due to the hardship they experience in their formative years. The demands made for economic or social security may be less relevant for the post-materialist generation who feel economically secure and may demand more political participation and civil rights. Inglehart (1990, 65) claims that 'the contemporary movements flowered during a period of high prosperity, they reflect post-materialist motivations, rather than the traditional protest linked with deprivation'.

A variation in value preferences may reflect a variation in the demand for citizenship. Citizenship may be connected with both post-material and material interests in the imagination of citizens who are homeowners or housing tenants. While the financial markets require social solidarity and an institutional answer to the problem of 'order', rather than the insecurity of social struggle. The 'supply' of social rights, especially those labelled 'welfare rights', may be reduced in order to supply the demands of the majority rather than meet the needs of the minority. Saunders (1993, 8) argues that the public is better able to pay for many essential goods and services that are now associated with social citizenship. However, the withdrawal of government assistance may be difficult

to achieve, as customary social rights are often difficult to change. For example the introduction of new Poor Laws in England in 1834, which changed 'contractual' social rights proved to be socially divisive (Perkins 1969, 184-185).

Citizenship may be both a source of integration in the nation state and a source of conflict over the distribution of resources, because it raises expectations concerning the scope of citizenship rights and entitlements (Turner 1993, 8). Similarly, Roche (1994, 212) argues that social movements and organisations have varying degrees of 'understanding of the contested and changing nature of social citizenship in modern society.' Movements are vehicles and resources for citizenship claims by various social groups. The 'new social movements' are depicted as actors contesting citizenship through civic engagement in the context of civil society (Dalton and Kuechler 1990). This shift in emphasis has resulted in the widening scope of social characteristics, which are regarded as relevant for citizenship contests. For example Dalton (1988) and Barnes and Kaase (1978) suggest that political conflicts around citizenship may be related to differences in education. They argue that increasing levels of education result in greater cognitive capacity and a more participatory political culture, enhancing aspirations for citizenship rights. The tertiary educated become more politically active than the less educated, and this is reflected in their more active orientation, especially political action and 'richer' conceptual images of citizenship. The political activity of dynamic groups in society and in particular the 'intelligentsia' remains an important platform in the work of Mannheim.

## **Combining Marshall and Mannheim**

Mannheim's (1952, 1972) work is useful in addressing several problems in Marshall's accounts of citizenship. These problems were Marshall's implicit and typically modern assumption of human nature, his privileging of the analytical rationality that follows from it and the disjunction between the fixity of that rationality and the 'evolution' of his central metaphor. Just as Turner (1997, 7) claimed that in discussions of citizenship it is 'conceptually parsimonious to think of three types of resource: economic, cultural and political' I suggest that Mannheim's triadic knowledge-politics allows a frugal approach to Marshall's (1950, 1972) models of citizenship.

In his early sociology of knowledge-politics Mannheim focused on the problem that Marshall exemplifies: how can social analysis be possible when the analysis itself is existentially emergent from the processes studied within? But where Marshall had hinted through his two tripartite models at different political rationalities, Mannheim used triadic models to specifically make that point. Where Marshall moved from sequential stages to a co-present schema but did not develop the implications, Mannheim took this position as a starting point and elaborated its consequences. Where Marshall tended to pre-empt the complexities he had suggested, through his assumption of human nature, which he divides from nature, Mannheim kept the tensions in play by refusing that assumption.

Mannheim shares with Max Scheler (1921/1970) the title of the 'founding father' of the sociology of knowledge, and he entered the field through engaging with Scheler. In one of his first papers in what would become the sociology of knowledge Scheler had prefigured Marshall's move from his first to his second tripartite model, by defending Comte's social approach to epistemology while attacking Comte's own law of three stages. Mannheim held that Scheler should not have taken seriously the epistemologists' 'classic anti-relativist argument, repeated ad infinitum and ad nauseam' (Mannheim 1924, 130), and that the appeal to human nature was no answer (Mannheim 1925, 83). If the 'phenomenologically given' were seen as dynamic rather than as static, then there was 'an existentially determined truth content in human thought at every stage of its development' (op. cit.: 101), including in epistemology, and there could be no analytical refuge from the resulting conceptual tangles. Knowledge required instead a study 'which accentuates the difficulties of its task' (Mannheim 1924, 130). But if he departed from Scheler in this way, Mannheim resembled him in another, in his insistence that the study of knowledge required three distinct elements being kept in tension. Mannheim held that epistemological assumptions of both the knowing subject and the adequacy of strict analysis occluded the analysts' psychological, ontological and logical precommitments. Knowledge, he said, emerged as a relation between the knower (subject), the known and the to-be-known (object); if the subject was always an intersubject and if the known was always selectively drawn from tradition, then the to-be-known was always historically contingent. 'Every epistemological systematization is

based upon this triad', he claimed, 'and every conceivable formulation of the problem of knowledge is given by these three terms in some combination' (Mannheim 1922, 58).

Mannheim linked his sociology of knowledge to political movements. The interactively emergent movements of liberalism, socialism and conservatism each entailed a distinct 'thought style', each thought-style entailed a distinct link between theory and practice, and each link was recursively enacted in the academy (Mannheim 1928, 248–50; 1929, 117–46). The formal contesting of knowledge was then inextricably entangled in broader conflicts. Through acknowledgement of and allowance for that effect, the sociology of knowledge was a 'dynamic synthesis' of the three practical thought-styles. At the same time liberally individual, dialectically collective and culturally conservative, this synthesis was both an effect of the complex from which it emerged and a means of attaining a 'continually receding viewpoint' on that complex (Mannheim 1928, 256). Mannheim treated the triadic distinction between its elements more as a preliminary and heuristic ordering than as a means of exhaustive description, for as he showed most elaborately in his study of conservatism, any one thought-style contains numerous variants, so the conservative can be political, cultural and economic (Mannheim 1927; cf. Nelson 1992). The important point here is that Mannheim's ordering strategy of keeping the three elements in play was a means of being analytical while still insisting on the limits of strict analysis.

In their studies of knowledge-political action, Scheler and Mannheim had both used variants of the trinary ordering that Marshall was to adopt, and both had treated their triads through the co-presence of Marshall's hyphenated model. However, whereas Scheler and Marshall had assumed versions of 'human nature', Mannheim showed a way of treating the human as emergent. That is the point of the merging of Marshall and Mannheim.

In Mannheimian terms, citizenship as a concept and practice is an effect of three types of 'thought-style': the individual and calculating rationality of liberalism (the economic), the 'emotional' sharing of symbols of conservatism (the cultural), and the dialectical rationality of collective action (the political). Citizenship as both a concept and a practice emerges from the interaction between these three. Mannheim's stress on mutually creative thought-styles entailed inductive description rather than prescriptive deduction from any sense of human nature. Marshall's economic/political man does exist in this sense, but is one effect among others rather than as a starting-point (cf. Callon 1998). Since Marshall's privileging of analytical rationality had followed from his assumptions regarding human nature, this Mannheimian move restores the dynamic interaction that Marshall had first suggested in his hyphenated model, and then pre-empted.

To treat humanity as emergent rather than as given also remedies the problem of evolution in Marshall's first model, where his linear 'stages' and 'progress' were at odds with his analytical rational assumptions. So long as Mannheim's 'thought styles' have



the grounding in existential or 'contextual' conditions, the interaction between them provides an evolutionary mechanism. A second source of parsimony lies in the couching of that interaction in a trinity. As noted earlier, while triadic ordering is not the only means of keeping tensions in play, it is the next simplest move after the closures of either/or choices in general and of the Great Divide between nature and humanity. Restriction to the 'continually receding viewpoint' it opens is a small price for the recursive inclusiveness it also allows. Mannheim (1952: 184-6) allows me to show 'that a certain style of thought, an intellectual standpoint, is encompassed with a system of attitudes which in turn can be seen to be related to a certain economic and power system'. He realized that 'different social strata, then do not "produce different systems of ideas" (Weltanschauungen) in a crude, materialistic sense – in the sense in which lying ideologies can be "manufactured" – they "produce" them, rather, in the sense that social groups emerging within the social process are always in a position to project new directions of that "intentionally"'.

For Mannheim (1952 189) 'shifts in social reality are the underlying cause of shifts in theoretical systems'. By developing Mannheim's (1952, 184-86) 'dynamic standpoint' I argue that the main task of a sociology of knowledge in relation to citizenship 'consists in specifying, for each temporal cross-section of the historical process, the various systematic intellectual standpoints on which the thinking of creative individuals and groups are based. Once intellectual standpoints are identified the different 'trends of thought should not be confronted like positions in a mere theoretical debate' (1952, 186).

The sociological task according to Mannheim (1952, 189) 'consists in finding the social strata making up the intellectual strata in question': it is only in terms of the role of these strata within the overall process, in terms of their attitudes towards the emerging new reality, that we can define the fundamental aspirations and world postulates existing at a given time which can absorb already existing ideas and methods and subject them to a change of function – not to speak of newly created forms. Hegel's conservative 'dialectical method' provides an obvious sociological and historical example of how an idea is re-interpreted and modified. Marx changed Hegel's meaning and function of 'dialectics' to suit the social conditions and future aspirations of the proletariat.

In terms of citizenship I suggest that Mannheim allows us to reinterpret and modify Marshall's civil/capitalist, political/democratic and social/welfare elements and introduce emotional, collective and cultural factors into the paradigm. The tensions in contemporary citizenship reflect not only the dynamics of new, national and global social movements based on conflicting demands for animal, environmental, gender, political and group rights (Turner 2001: Lister 2001: Isin 2002) but it also reflects the old status tensions between members and non members (Kimlicka 1995) and the class conflicts between the owners and the non owners of property (Barbalet 1988).

## **A theoretical framework**

The Report by the Civics Expert Group (1994, 134) suggested that citizenship was 'an abstract topic to most Australians, which is not given much thought'. Australians seldom use the term citizenship when describing their rights, membership and entitlements. However findings from the AES 2001 data indicate that citizenship is regarded as 'important' by 90% of Australians. I will argue that it is not the topic that is abstract but rather the term citizenship. Citizenship is rarely used in casual speech and sounds formal, political and theoretical. I would agree with Chesterman and Galligan (1999, 1) who claim 'the problem is that there is no clear understanding about the meaning of citizenship in Australia.'

The 'rule of law' is the foundation for modern citizenship (see Macintyre 1996), but it may be buried under proliferating public expectations and political 'demands' for entitlements or 'goods', which are the more tangible material benefits of full membership in the nation state. The loyalty of citizens to the state, which Marshall saw as a core part of universal national citizenship, becomes more readily associated with nationalism, while taxation, jury duty and military service are viewed as individual burdens rather than signs of civic or national commitment. If the Australian government wishes to 'enhance, strengthen and revitalise' citizenship (AGPS, 1994 in 'Australians All: Enhancing Australian Citizenship'), the executive requires civic identity to replace the traditional national ties, which were based on culture and ethnicity. Prior to 1945 Australian cultural and civic identity generally overlapped but mass immigration since 1950 has challenged the strength, validity and legitimacy of a

national identity based purely on British and Irish cultural traditions, assertions and values (Day 1998). A gap has appeared between the cultural and civic identity of Australian citizens. The state is attempting to promote a new national identity based on citizenship, a civic identity, to overcome cultural diversity, increasing independence from and indifference to Britain.

The fact that so many writers have continued to use Marshall's work is evidence in itself that his account of citizenship had raised central issues in the theorizing of socio-political life. Even if his modern assumption of 'human nature' meant that he himself foreclosed on what he had suggested, he set a problem that later writers have continued to rework. Mannheim's work on political movements is similar. Frequently revisited but rarely digested, it is a reminder of the difficulties in studying the knowledge-political action epitomised in disputes over citizenship. By inventing an interaction between Marshall and Mannheim, I have highlighted political dynamics in Aristotle's 'participation' and in Marshall's 'full membership of a community'. I will argue that the development of modern citizenship implies a spiral of 'thought-styles', where the individual and calculating rationality of Marshall's economic/political man is co-emergent with both the 'emotional' sharing of symbols definitive of culture, individual market pursuits and the dialectical rationality of collective action. This is consistent with Marshall's observation that conflicting principles arise 'from the very roots of our social order' (1950, 122).

Since Mannheim's three conflicting political principles are familiar from the classical social theories that Marshall variously invoked and that are richly reworked in contemporary versions of him, my reading is a way of making explicit what has always already been a feature of debates over citizenship, and that are relevant again in changing times. In particular, Mannheim's work on German Liberalism in the 1920s is worth revisiting now that liberalism is under reconstruction in attempts to govern through the freedom and capacities of the governed (Kettler and Meja 1995; Pels 1997, 2001; Dean 1999; Rose 1999). The (re)union of Marshall and Mannheim is a reminder of what is lost when any one form of political rationality is privileged a priori in the theorizing of citizenship. It is certainly not a panacea, for the detail of how individual, dialectical and diffuse rationalities are played out remains a matter of case-by-case study. As Mannheim claims, 'ideas emerge and develop in response to, and are determined by, the social historical situation in which intellectual skill groups find themselves' (Bramstedt and Gerth 1951). While this 'reunion' then does not allow me to say what citizenship is, beyond Marshall's fluid 'participation as a full member of a community', it does alert us to what is involved in how this participation is contested, in academic accounts of citizenship and in the struggles for belonging in specific national communities. Recent academic work by Turner (2001), Lister (2001) and Isin (2002) reflect the ongoing debate about the meaning and future function of citizenship in relation to human rights, community welfare, and political and cultural identity.

The theories summarised above assume three things: first, that the understanding of citizenship is standard, second, that it evolves along certain historical lines and third that it has the power to 'tie' people to the nation state. The development of citizenship has varied from state to state and the power of citizenship to 'bind' societies, especially those that have experienced mass migration, is questionable due to the lack of information concerning the level of understanding and practice of citizenship. The practice and understanding of citizenship and social rights requires study in order to gauge the nature of 'demands' attached to citizenship by individuals who experience their social rights through the prism of different social locations. There is an 'ideal' expectation that citizenship can unite the state against the centrifugal forces released by globalization, mass migration, cultural pluralism and market failure. The actual power of the state to deliver material goods and services is alleged to be shrinking due to the increasing cost of social rights on national budgets, the fragmentation of state membership due to regional, alternative or global loyalties, increased litigation, and the decreased legitimacy of the nation-state in the context of information technology linked to a global market.

This research will test the clarity, consistency and diversity of citizenship images and ideals, and consider the tenure distribution of these images and ideals. I hypothesise that citizenship has the potential to divide, as much as it may bind. Demands for social rights and entitlements by competing groups on the state's finite power and resources may increase. Rather than an increase in civic virtue, loyalty and national unity there

may be an increase in sectional identities, demands and tension. This research will evaluate critically the theoretical accounts of citizenship and test the binding power of citizenship rights among citizens in four different housing tenures: outright home owners, home purchasers, private renters and public housing tenants. However, I also recognise that these four tenure categories are not necessarily homogenous and contain a disparate range of household and income types. For example, short term renters who aspire to be home owners may view the world similar to 'home owners' while long term private renters who are trapped by virtue of low income may share more of their world view with public renters. Similarly, home owners (often older) and home purchasers (typically younger) are in very different life stages and economic circumstances and this may structure attitudes and behaviour toward citizenship.

## **Chapter Three**

### **Housing Tenure and Citizenship**

Public policy has unequivocally given the citizen a legitimate expectation of a home fit for a family to live in and the promise is not now confined to heroes (Marshall 1973. 105).

In the preceding chapter I showed that citizenship has dynamic dimensions which reflect diverse rationalities and conflicting political principles. In this chapter, I will argue that citizenship status can be examined through the prism of different housing tenures. This can be done by rereading Marshall's (1973, 1975) liberal view of citizenship and social policy, in which he (1973, 110) suggests that 'citizenship operates as an instrument of social stratification'. Using Mannheim's (1925, 1952) three 'thought styles' from the sociology of knowledge, I will reassess the political dynamics of policy support for market based and social housing options. I will suggest that the practice of citizenship in terms of membership, participation and security in local communities will vary with housing tenure type. I will demonstrate that political support for homeownership may accentuate the divisions between social classes or status groups and undermine the integrative power of citizenship (Marshall 1950; Parsons 1977).

#### **The State and Housing**

The executive arm of government seeks to legitimise its activities and balances the needs of individuals and communities. The promotion of homeownership by the State has been one way to promote its legitimacy and support, as the majority of the Australian population (70%) is engaged in homeownership as either homeowners or buyers (Troy 1995, 2000). In



this context homeownership has been promoted by the state as an 'ideal' identity package to promote social integration and provide an economic framework for individual action.

As Durkheim (1964) argues, order cannot be explained purely as a social contract between individuals motivated by self-interest. Individuals require rules and norms to promote cohesion and solidarity. Homeownership not only institutionalises social norms according to Gurney (1999, 174) that regulate behaviour but also provides a meaningful identity (as a stakeholder) and purpose (sense of security) to members of the national community (Troy 2000). However, there are critics of the 'Australian dream' of homeownership. Kemeny (1981, 1983) argues that owner occupation is linked to increasing 'privatism', lifestyles centred on the home rather than the workplace or public affairs. In Australia, the 'dream' has been successful because in the seventies and eighties people readily chose homeownership

If active participants in the economy expect to be paid or gain a profit in exchange for their contribution, what is it that people expect to gain by being active in their local community?

And what does the State hope to gain by concentrating social disadvantage and inequality by housing location, which is not limited to public housing estates but is mirrored in private rental areas, especially in economically depressed regions (Randolph and Jupp 1999).

Economic uncertainty and global insecurity undermine the ability of nation states to fix interest rates and balance the competing demands by citizens for finite fiscal resources in the future. The problem for government remains Marshallian (1973, 69-92) as disadvantaged and socially excluded citizens require 'a share in the social heritage' to promote a sense of membership, integration and 'loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession'. First, it

is necessary to outline the arrangements by which the Commonwealth and states provide housing assistance to citizens. Secondly the recent changes in the provision of housing assistance by the Commonwealth and States will be examined and interpreted in terms of two fundamental principles of citizenship: civic participation and community membership

The Commonwealth government of Australia has developed bilateral agreements with all State and Territory governments in relation to the on going development of the social housing system. The original Commonwealth-State Housing Agreement (CSHA) was developed in 1945. It was initially introduced to address housing shortages and promote the building and related industries in the post war period. High levels of post war immigration maintained the domestic demand for housing construction and the building industry was used to prime the economy. Over the past fifty years the CSHA has changed focus with successive governments targeting particular demands or social groups. The provision of housing assistance has become increasingly targeted towards the unemployed since the recession of the early 1980s. Now the focus is firmly on the provision of housing assistance to the most needy in the community, for example citizens on low incomes, pensions and government income benefits. The increasing concentration of the most disadvantaged in public housing areas has had an economic and social cost (see Randolph and Judd 1999). However it is necessary to briefly outline the recent reform and research of the social housing sector in Australia.

The provision of public housing assistance has changed over the past two decades due to the deregulation and reform of the Australian economy. The increased targeting of housing

assistance to the unemployed started in the early 1980s due to the recession. However the need for a national housing plan became more apparent as increases in house prices and interest rates reduced the ability of single income households to purchase a home. At the same time increases in private rent levels rose faster than income levels and unemployment remained relatively high throughout the 1980s. As the states struggled to provide a coherent approach to the housing needs of the disadvantaged and low income earners experiencing housing stress in the private rental market. The dream of home ownership became more difficult for single income households struggling with rising interest rates. Eventually the Labor Commonwealth government funded a research program in June 1990 the National Housing Strategy (NHS) to 'develop a program of housing policy reform so that more affordable and appropriate housing options could be provided to Australians' (NHS, 1992).

The research produced seven issue papers, fifteen background papers and three discussion papers. The National Housing Strategy provided 'benchmarks' from which a coherent national housing policy framework could be developed. The three objectives of the NHS indicated the future direction of social housing in Australia. The NHS objectives included greater housing choice and diversity - which signalled the growth of Non Government Organisations (NGOs) able to manage community housing options; sustainable and viable development - a reference to finite tax dollars and an aging population; and more efficiency and effectiveness in service provision - a nod to the concerns of taxpayers about the use and abuse of public monies. The following year the Industry Commission (IC) (1993) inquiry into the provision of public housing by State Housing Authorities (SHA) focused on the last objective of the NHS 'efficiency and effectiveness'. The IC considered several issues including

the economic input and outputs of the State Housing Authorities rather than social outcomes; the transparency and equity of housing subsidies; and the split between tenancy and management functions.

The subsequent social housing reform agenda was affected and informed by two other significant processes. The first process was economic while the second was political. The Hilmer Report (1994) outlined the need for competition to government enterprises such as State Housing Authorities which have a monopoly on the provision of services in order to achieve greater efficiency and effectiveness and better customer outcomes. The second process was two fold and much more dramatic. Initially the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) was driving the reform of the CSHA. The Keating Commonwealth government was keen to sort out the lines of responsibility for the provision of social housing with the States, agree on the level of funding, put an end to capital funding, and untie housing programs providing targeted assistance to aborigines, private renters, community housing, mortgage relief and crisis accommodation.

Ultimately the COAG process became redundant as Howard's Liberal party were elected in 1996 with the intention of passing the responsibility for the provision of public housing to the states. The Commonwealth's intention was to reduce duplication between the two tiers of government, promote greater efficiency; clear lines of accountability and state based service provision. The Commonwealth government provides the housing funds via bilateral CSHA with State Housing Authorities (SHA) and Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) via Centrelink, while the states are responsible for the provision of housing properties,

maintenance, capital works and tenancies. The dismemberment of the Commonwealth Department of Housing after the 1996 Federal election and focus on bilateral agreements with the States undermined co-ordination, coherence and equity in the provision of housing assistance. The investment by the Howard Government in related housing research by the Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute (AHURI) in 1999 was an attempt to address the need for analysis of the Australian housing scene.

The states and territories are responsible for the management and maintenance of public housing stock valued at over \$34b. There are over 348,000 public rental properties in Australia, which represents approximately 5.4% of the national housing stock (Wright-Howie 2004). Centrelink clients represent over 87% of public housing tenants and in Tasmania that figure is higher as 90% of all public housing tenants receive income support (Housing Tasmania 2000). The National Commission of Audit (NCA 1996) reports that the Commonwealth provided capital grants to the States of \$1.6b, which were matched by the States with a contribution of \$427m. However the repayment and servicing of Commonwealth housing loans by the States reduces the amount of real funding available to provide housing assistance.

Public housing tenants pay on average 20% of their income on rent and receive on average a market rent subsidy of \$4000 (NCA 1996). In addition the States 'notionally' contribute \$1b annually in rental subsidies to public tenants by not charging them market rent. The NCA (1996) also reports that the Commonwealth government provided rent assistance to approximately 985,000 citizens in private rental housing at a cost of \$1.6b in 1995-6, and

increasing to \$1.8b in 2002/03. About 20% of all Australian households rent privately (ABS 2001) and citizens in receipt of income support from Centrelink pay a much higher percentage of their income in rent than public housing tenants. It is estimated that over 40% of private renters on Centrelink benefits and pensions pay over 30% of their income in rent (NCA1996). The average rent assistance payment is approximately \$1600 per year. The lack of equity between the level of government subsidy provided to public housing tenants (\$4000 p.a.) and private renters on rent assistance (\$1600 p.a.) is a cause for concern. However there is a high demand for public housing due to its affordability and security of tenure, which results in long waiting lists and a slow turnover of properties in well-located areas. Private renters in receipt of rent assistance may experience difficulties in accessing public housing and a lack of housing security due to rental property sales, short leases and poor maintenance. However private renters may benefit from the increased choice of location and potential for family integration offered via the private rental market. The higher costs of private rental may be 'offset' for some disadvantaged households by improved access to services, such as education, health, transport and increased employment prospects.

To briefly recap, the relationship between housing tenure and citizenship rights needs to be understood in the context of the dynamic cultural, economic and social changes that have taken place over the past three decades. The long post war boom 'flowered' in the Australian dream of homeownership of the 1950s and 60s and then 'faded' after the international 'oil crisis' in the early 1970s. The subsequent economic pressure on developed nations like Australia gradually resulted in tighter economic and social policy. The growing number of unemployed citizens became the 'target' of universal community welfare services and

policies. Social programs and community welfare provision became increasingly residual and focused on those citizens who were most in need and less able to be financially independent. Community welfare services, including social housing, increasingly became means tested due to the reluctance of post boom governments to fund universal social and community welfare programs. During the 1990s dependent citizens were encouraged to become more 'active' and 'job ready' in order to participate as full members of the nation state (RGWR 2000). These policies would be criticised by Marshall and Mannheim for failing to address social inequalities that undermine the sense of equality implicit in citizenship.

### **Theoretical debates on housing**

It is necessary to examine the work of several theorists to develop a framework to explain the relationship between housing tenure and citizenship because there is no unified theory, which explains the provision of housing in terms of citizenship. I propose that Marshall's (1973, 110) reading of citizenship which suggests that 'citizenship operates as an instrument of social stratification' and Mannheim's sociology of knowledge which mobilises three political 'thought styles' are useful in explaining the political, economic and cultural elements of social citizenship. Housing provision and citizenship are analysed in terms of: liberalism based on the individual and market; dialectically collective socialism based on radical and class action; collective conservatism based on notions of the family and culture. The relationship of housing tenure to the ideals, understanding and practice of citizenship, will be explored in terms of people in different housing tenures: homeowners, home buyers, private renters and

social housing tenants. I will argue that the political, economic and cultural dimensions of social inequality are reflected in these housing tenures (Winter 1996).

Following Paris (1993, 17-37) I will argue that the housing field is cross cut by three major theoretical approaches, which are articulated in terms of: the housing market (liberal market explanation); the housing system (conservative explanation); and the structural provision of housing (radical explanation). Marshall (1973) provides a link between the liberal view of citizenship and the relevance of social housing in the citizenship debate. Marshall (1973, 103) argues that the "obligation of the State towards society collectively with regard to housing is one of the heaviest it has to bear." The provision of social housing to citizens needs to be considered in terms of collective rights, social justice and social inequality. Turner (1990) builds on the work of Marshall and argues that the provision of all social welfare needs to be considered in terms of social membership and political participation. Saunders (1990, 1993) work on the growth of home ownership and decline of council housing in the UK appears to support Turner's (1993) claim that citizenship needs to be understood in terms of the citizens' ability to participate as a member of the national community all be it at a local level.

Saunders (1993) suggests that there is a paradox between the extension of social rights by government to promote social cohesion and the levels of civic engagement in a liberal society. The paradox, Saunders claims (1990, 1993) is that the extension of social rights may not in fact promote social cohesion but weaken it. Government housing assistance may in practice be counter productive and reduce tenant participation and social cohesion in the community. He further implies that there is a link between higher levels of participation and the growth in



home ownership in the local community. The sale of council housing to tenants in the UK is associated by Saunders with “greater feelings of self worth, security and autonomy” (1993, 88). Saunders (1993, 88) argues that home buyers in England are more politically active than renters. He suggests that home owners will mobilise to defend any attempt by government to remove their tax subsidies (Lundqvist 1998). In contrast, Saunders implies that the continued provision of public housing to all but the neediest may in fact reduce participation levels in the community. Saunders position appears to be that public assistance to homeowners increases public participation while government assistance to public tenants reduces the levels of participation.

Randolph and Judd (1999) suggest the sale of public housing to all who can access it and increased targeting of public housing stock over the past two decades in Australia has resulted in a concentration of the most disadvantaged members of the community in public housing estates. Even Saunders (1993) reluctantly, reports that some renters claim that home buyers had become more ‘withdrawn’ and ‘snobbish’ due to their new ‘property owner’ status. He even acknowledges that the sale of public housing may have sharpened social divisions between home purchasers and renters but he rejects the claim by critics like Kemeny that ‘home ownership leads to privatism’ (Saunders 1990, 312).

Even controlling for class and income differences, owner-occupiers are more likely than tenants to participate in clubs and organisations outside members of work based bodies such as trade unions or professional associations (Saunders 1990, 311).

Saunders (1993, 88) also claims that the 'maintenance of direct state provision' of social rights to a minority of citizens in the form of public housing or to a majority of the population in the case of health care and education, is neither necessary nor morally desirable. Saunders suggests that a voucher system would improve the ability of disadvantaged citizens to participate in the community, but he does not indicate how a voucher system would address the underlying structural and behavioural issues related to market failure, unemployment, poverty, discrimination and dependency.

There is also a suggestion that the new ownership status may influence voting behaviour and consumption practices in the UK. It could be argued that 'greater feelings of self worth, security and autonomy' might motivate individuals to purchase public housing and exhibit higher levels of involvement in the community rather than be a consequence of it (see Gurney 1999). The sale of public housing may provide an opportunity for individuals with more cultural capital or educational achievement to participate in the post war Australian 'dream' of home ownership. The political trend towards an active society indicated a new approach by government in the mid-1980s. Saunders (1993, 21) identifies significant changes to the social security system (in Australia) which started with the replacement of the unemployment benefit by the 'Job Search allowance and the Newstart program'. Over the past two decades the provision of social services has become increasingly means tested and targeted towards the neediest in the community. The increased targeting of public housing to the most disadvantaged citizens has further concentrated people experiencing unemployment, poverty and alienation.

Liberal accounts of citizenship note how the extension of rights from civil to political and social rights, like free education, increase levels of participation and equality of opportunity in the modern capitalist state (Marshall 1973, 92-96). Functional and neo-functional accounts of citizenship (Parsons 1970, Alexander 1997) stress the 'ideal' effects of citizenship, such as its powers of integration and binding on the national community. They do not explain the diversity, demand and continued conflict over particular citizenship rights. Even some Marxist accounts understate the public demand for citizenship rights (Mann 1987). Class accounts focus on the soothing effect that citizenship works within capitalism and the managed incorporation of the working class into capitalistic societies (Bendix 1964, Mann 1987), but they also predict an inevitable clash with capitalism (Barbalet 1988).

If liberal accounts provide a framework for identifying normative images of citizenship and home ownership, then class and functional accounts are loaded with 'ideal' and material images of property ownership and social rights. Class analysis also provides a counter-balance to the liberal and functional claims made on behalf of property and citizenship, such as the promotion of equal rights and achievement of social solidarity. Class explanations introduce two important elements into the discussion: differentiated material rights and social conflict. The ownership of property has a social dimension, and suggests that participation in the community may be differentiated according to income, wealth or occupational status. Second, class based arguments stress the idea that property rights (Kemeny 1983) may promote an ideal expectation, if not the substance, of equality in society, which may ultimately produce conflict over inequality experienced in and out of the housing market.

Modern class theorists like Barbalet (1988) suggest that citizenship rights contradict capitalist relations and in the long term will clash with them. The redistributive nature of liberal democratic citizenship causes a reduction in capitalist profits, which will lead it into future conflict with capitalism. Barbalet (1988) argues that citizenship not only undermines capitalism but has also made it more durable by softening its harsh edges. Within class accounts, citizenship rights have also been regarded as an ideological tool of the dominant class, a hegemonic device to reinforce capitalist ideals and maintain the status quo. For Mann (1987) the extension of social rights is viewed as a product of class struggle and site of future conflict.

In contrast, Marx (1970, 28-29) criticises the bourgeois benefits that workers are offered, such as civil rights, which imply freedom. He considers civil rights to be empty vessels if workers are without the economic means to enjoy and defend them. Marx suggests that the proletariat is dependent on the bourgeoisie and the state executive for their income and rights. It is access to property and power, which provide the bourgeoisie some freedom in the state. The proletariat does not have real freedom or equality because they are dependent on the bourgeoisie for income and on the government for material and physical security and protection. The unemployed or reserve army of labour is the most dependent on government, and the focus of increasing demands and control by the neo liberal state.

Harrison (1991) argues that the liberal focus on the private provision of services such as housing, health and education may help 'to maintain the fragmentation of the welfare

provision, eroding citizenship for some while enhancing it for others'. Whereas Brennan (1998, 39) suggests this 'new orthodoxy is not about redistribution or the elimination of poverty'. Governments in advanced societies are changing the form and content of the relationship between the state and dependent citizens. Brennan (1998) identifies three key principles, which underpin this 'new paternalism'. They include an emphasis on contributions through paid work as the basis of welfare claims; rights matched with responsibilities; and a philosophy of 'no free rides'. The McClure Report (RGOWR 2000) on welfare reform addressed government concerns regarding waste, isolation and welfare dependency in Australia (Family and Community Services 1999).

Riley (1993) identifies a 'gap' between the 'theoretical and civil realisation' of citizenship. There is certainly a tension between the basic needs of dependent citizens, such as the unemployed and the homeless and the ideals of neo liberal and conservatives who emphasis the individuals duties, obligations and participation. According to Dahrendorf (cited in Riley 1992) the growth of an underclass, which has 'no voice or representation' seriously 'undermines the universality implied by citizenship'. There is a focus on the cost of welfare transfers to the unemployed that ignores the expenditure on occupational benefits and allowances for taxpayers.

The egalitarian ideal of citizenship (like the 'dream' of homeownership) is not only undermined by unemployment and welfare dependency but also by sexism that impairs the equality of women according to Lister (1997), Riley (1992) and Pateman (1989). Racism and xenophobia also limits the ability of new citizens to fully enjoy the full benefits of social

membership and participation in the nation as they are discriminated against on the basis of their cultural rather than civic identity (Riley, 1992).

In Australia the class debate has been fuelled by claims regarding its 'death' (Pakulski and Waters 1996) and 'life' (White 2000). White (2000) is concerned with the continued empirical use of the concept of 'class' which he reads through the sociology of knowledge. Pakulski and Waters (1996, 4) focus on the empirical details of its use and claim that 'classes are dissolving and that the most advanced societies are no longer class societies,' citing a decline in class voting, union membership and class imagery and consciousness in politics. They claim that the concept of class has been 'seriously stretched to accommodate emergent social developments as well as to preserve ideological convictions' (Pakulski and Waters 1996, 5). The social changes taking place in advanced societies during late modernity, according to Pakulski and Waters (1996, 4), include 'a wide redistribution of property; the proliferation of indirect and small ownership; the credentialisation of skills and the professionalisation of occupations; the multiple segmentation and globalization of markets; and an increasing role for consumption as a status and lifestyle generator.

Pakulski and Waters (1996, 5) argue that national classes are decomposing in advanced societies but they do 'not imply a decline in social inequality,' as these societies remain 'internally differentiated in terms of access to economic resources, political power and prestige'. Instead, they claim that 'the original class communities have been absorbed into a national state (a societal quasi-community) in which citizenship is the central mode of participation. Whereas Marx (cited in McLellan 1973) and contemporary class theorists are

primarily concerned with workers access to material resources and the development of class identity. They consider that the sense of identity with and in the national community that workers gain by citizenship and property ownership, is a secondary or false identity.

In contrast to Marxists, Levitas (1998, 178) feels that the 'character of the new political discourse reflects the language of Durkheim, with its appeal to social integration, solidarity and social cohesion.' The dominant political discourse in Australia is neo liberal rather than the 'third way' advocated by Giddens (1996) and new Labour in the UK or Latham (2001) in Australia. Both ideologies promote 'third sector' or community based engagement in the state to invigorate or complement public services targeted at disadvantaged citizens.

In the Division of Labour in Society (1933) Durkheim argued that mechanical solidarity is replaced by organic solidarity in advanced societies, which are 'held together by the functional interdependence of their members' (cited in Levitas, 1998,178). Turner (1991, 40) presents the Durkheim argument succinctly, 'population density leads to competition, which threatens the social order; in turn, competition for resources results in the specialisation of tasks; and specialisation creates pressures for mutual interdependence and increased willingness to accept the morality of mutual obligation.' The term 'mutual obligation' certainly strikes a cord with the recent debate regarding welfare reform in Australia.

Durkheim (1957, 43) recognised the importance of culture and the "close ties that bind any political society to its soil". Durkheim focuses on social solidarity and order in modern industrial societies rather than access to resources and the exploitation of workers. He suggests that workers are attracted to socialism (for example) because it provides 'new social

bonds rather than the abolition of private property'. By extrapolating Durkheim's sense of social solidarity, modern citizenship rights ideally provide a 'tie that binds' individuals to the nation state.

In this context citizenship rights are promoted by the state as an ideal civic identity package to promote social integration, to settle disputes and provide a legal framework for individual action. Durkheim (1964) argues that order cannot be explained purely as a social contract between individuals motivated by self-interest. Individuals require rules and norms to promote cohesion and solidarity. Citizenship, like homeownership, is arguably an ideal vehicle for the state to promote integration within the national community. It not only institutionalises social norms, which regulate behaviour, but also provides a meaningful identity and purpose to members of the nation state. The problem is how do states develop coherent civic identities in the context of a rapidly expanding global information, cultural exchange and mass migration? The answer used to lie in the close relationship between citizenship and the provision of social rights but that has become more problematic and costly for nation states.

The state executive seeks to legitimise its activities, and providing vulnerable citizens with affordable housing is one way to secure legitimacy. Unfortunately the benefits of public housing are often over shadowed by its failures. Randolph (1999) argues that the combination of public housing design, social and economic change and social policy responses have polarised communities. Problems associated with public housing estates are more often linked to poor design, limited access to necessary services such as health, lack of support,



inadequate public transport, the concentration of disadvantaged families, community stigmatisation, long term unemployment, and problems with crime and personal security (NSW Department of Housing 1999).

### **Applying Marshall to Housing**

The basic tenants of modern citizenship outlined by the liberal Marshall (1950, 1973) relate to civil, political and social rights. These three essential elements allow individual citizens to participate as full members in the affairs of the modern democratic nation-state. The rule of law, the right to vote, the secret ballot and the introduction of universal suffrage provided full members of the national community with access to legal protection, physical security, political representation and a range of social welfare rights such as a modicum of income support, free education, health care and social housing. Marshall (1973, 101) argues that the state is obliged to provide a 'guaranteed minimum' supply of certain essential goods and services (such as medical attention, shelter and education) to citizens who do not have the resources to purchase them. The degree of social equalization achieved by the state depends on the application, eligibility, levels of support provided and universality of the program.

For Marshall (1973, 102) the critical factor in the expansion of social services is not related to income equalisation, as the middle classes gain more benefit from universal services, such as health, than the disadvantaged who are unable, or not required to pay for health services:

'What matters is that there is a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilised life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalisation between the more and the less at all

levels - between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active' (Marshall 1973, 102).

The abatement of class or social inequalities is based on the legal and political rights of citizens. However Marshall (1973, 104) suggests that the 'rights of citizens cannot be precisely defined. The qualitative element is too great.' The citizen may be legally entitled to a particular service but it is the degree to which the 'legitimate expectation' to a social service can be realised which varies. Marshall (1973, 104) argues that the national communities rate of progress depends on the magnitude of the natural resources and their distribution between competing claims. The expectations of and competing claims by citizens, according to Marshall (1973, 105) have to be balanced by the state.

For Marshall the 'obligation of the state is towards the needs of society as a whole ...instead of individual citizens', and the 'maintenance of a fair balance between collective and individual elements in social rights is a matter of vital importance' (Marshall 1973, 105). Fifty-five years after Marshall (1950, 105) first wrote 'Citizenship and Social Class' it is fair to say that 'the basic right of the individual citizen to have a dwelling at all is minimal.' Australia does not provide a basic right to housing, it has not signed up to any international agreement requiring the provision of housing as a right and there have been cutbacks in the provision and capital funding of public housing. Whilst the distribution of resources by the State to maintain the provision of public housing in Australia has declined incentives to First Home Buyers and to homeowners via capital gains tax have increased (Yates 2001).

Marshall (1973, 105) claimed that the benefits of council housing in post war Britain were not 'equally distributed in proportion to real need'. He notes that a homeless person in post war Britain could 'claim no more than a roof over his head, and his claim can be met, as we have seen in recent years, by a shake down in a disused cinema converted into a rest center' (ibid). Marshall (1973: 105) recognised that the 'general obligation of the state towards society collectively with regard to housing is one of the heaviest it has to bear.' He argued that housing authorities would need to develop a 'priority scale' in order to deal with individual housing claims. However, as Marshall conceded there was an 'element of chance, and therefore of inequality' in the provision of social housing in post war Britain. Marshall (1950, 1973) highlights the example of children who move to a new housing estate with their families. They have better access to educational opportunities, which enhance their life chances, compared to the children of families who remain in a 'slum'.

In contrast to England there was a limited amount of concentrated industrial urbanisation in Australia, less need for slum clearance and generally less public housing (Mullins 1988, 536). However, the residualisation of public housing in Australia over the past twenty years and concentration of disadvantage in public housing estates has not improved the life chances of citizens in public housing areas, and it could be argued that it has promoted higher levels of social exclusion (see Randolph and Jupp 1999). Life chances here may be taken to mean 'the chances the individual has of sharing in the socially created economic or cultural goods, which typically exist in any given society' (Giddens 1973, 130). Australia has also failed to develop a bill of housing rights to promote the life chances of disadvantaged citizens or any housing rights legislation to address the needs of the homeless as exists in the UK.

## Research Literature

I will briefly review some recent research literature that influenced this study of housing tenure and citizenship. The literature on housing in Australia suggests that it has been an 'Australian dream' (Greig 1995, Troy 2000) since the 1950s to own your own home. Greig (1995, 1) argues that 'a solid sun drenched house standing in the centre of a large and manicured suburban block was one of the dominant images of the Australian way of life'. The 'dream' of homeownership was the product of a multitude of influences from the post war economic boom, the housing shortage, domestic consumption and production patterns, to bipartisan ideological agendas (Greig 1995, Troy 2000). Political support for homeownership policies have remained bipartisan (Troy 2000) in Australia not only for economic and voting purposes. As Saunders (1990, 1993) argues there are social and civic benefits that are readily associated with homeownership. Ownership is regarded as stimulating not only the national economy but also of promoting active citizenship, in the form of civic engagement and 'deeper community life' (Howard 1999, 2001). According to Winter (1996, 59-68) claims that homeowners exhibit higher levels of civic engagement than renters or that homeowners 'tenure based interests' are more likely to be mobilised politically need to be reassessed.

Kemeny (1980, 1983) is often cited by critics as evidence of the seeming bias towards homeownership at the expense of other tenures in Australian housing policy. Paris (1993, 167) also noted that the heavy capital investment in homeownership was a concern for many economists who, have long argued that housing, and in particular home purchase, is

'crowding out' business enterprises from capital markets. Individual investment in residential property is big business in Australia. According to Paris (1993, 167) domestic dwellings accounted for 52 percent of private sector wealth in Australia in June 1990, with a value of \$741 billion, by 1995 housing value had increased to \$820 (ABS 1999). However, as Marks, Headey and Wooden (2005, 49-50) point out, the significance of domestic housing in terms of total wealth is declining. The Australian Bureau of Statistics estimates that housing accounted for 48 percent of total wealth in 1994 and 46 percent in 2000 (cited in Marx et al 2005, 50). By contrast the public housing sector in Australia is relatively small at less than 6% of housing stock (ABS 2002), and is relatively inconsequential compared to the homeowner market (Mullins 1988).

Winter (1996, 219) examined how home owners and renters understand the economic, political and cultural meanings of their housing tenure. He claims that "the nature of inequality constructed through housing tenure is wide ranging." He found that there was evidence to suggest that there was "a probability of home- owners being more active than renters in community based crime prevention programs" such as the Neighbourhood Watch (Winter 1996, 147). Winter (1996, 186) also found that homeowners "are more likely to be active than renters in local politics due to their private property interests." This heightened local activity according to Winter (1996, 186) was in part due to "heightened community consciousness on the part of homeowners", which promoted social action and "the realisation of social esteem and the maintenance/enhancement of exchange value", rather than a simple concern for property values. However as Winter (1996, 186) notes, the causality of the

relationship between housing tenure and social action “go beyond the existing literature” and requires further research.

There is already a growing research focus on private rental housing which comprises 20% of all housing stock in Australia. Beer (2001: 441) attributes the renewed interest in private rental to the “increasing importance of this tenure and the expectation that it will become even more significant in the future”. This claim suggests that private rental housing will increasingly become an important topic of research. This raises the question: what has changed in relation to private rental in Australia? Yates (2002, 32) suggests that until the 1980s private rental housing was regarded as a “transitory” stage in a housing career ladder. Private rental was regarded as the next rung on the housing ladder after leaving the parental home, followed by first home ownership, mortgaged 'trading up' and ultimately outright home ownership. Yates (2002, 32) claims that over the past two decades private rental has been redefined. For example, there has been an increasing preference for rental housing among high-income households who desire flexibility, mobility, who are unwilling to make long term commitments and have investment options. Rather than making the traditional investment in housing some high income renters are investing in the stock market (Troy 2000, Yates 2002).

The 'choice' of high income and wealthy households to live in private rental housing is not shared by low income households who often find themselves 'constrained' within private rental housing with no means of progressing to the next step on the ladder homeownership (Yates 2002, 33). There is a need to research both the choices and constraints experienced by

citizens in different housing tenures. Recent research on housing stress in Sydney by Randolph and Holloway (2002) has identified the lack of affordable rental housing in the private sector and a continuing increase in house prices. According to Randolph and Holloway (2002, 329) there are comparable un-affordability trends in most of the larger Australian cities, including Hobart (see Gabriel 2004). So while the 'winners' enjoy increased housing equity, the 'losers' experience greater difficulty finding affordable housing in larger cities (MacIntyre 1985, Randolph and Holloway 2002). Randolph and Holloway (2002, 337) also explore the geography of housing stress and examine the relationship between housing tenure and income. Gentrification in high value property areas in the eastern and northern suburbs of Sydney over the past twenty years have displaced low income households to the western suburbs. Randolph and Holloway's (2002, 352) research suggests that income based 'housing stress is widespread across Sydney but particularly in suburban Western Sydney'. Further research on the relationship between housing tenure and income, and its impact on civic engagement, is required in regional and rural areas, like southern Tasmania (see Beer 2001: Gabriel 2004).

In *Bowling Alone* Putnam (2000) investigated the apparent decline in civic engagement in America over the preceding 30 years. He noted a trend away from traditional forms of civic participation and membership in community based associations. Putnam (2000) cited the role of urban sprawl and the increased amount of time people spend driving from their home in the outer suburbs to their place of work as factors contributing to a decline in traditional forms of participation in America. However, he does not specifically address the effect of housing tenure on civic engagement. An alternative view of this trend is that America is

undergoing a transformation rather than a decline in civic engagement. This perspective is based on the availability of new forms of social capital and formal association like the internet, litigation, soccer clubs and child care centres that have replaced the traditional community networks (Aldridge and Halpern 2002). This research will address gaps in the Australian literature and locate housing tenures, such as homeownership, within the economic, cultural and political issues, which effect social participation (Winter 1996).

### **Current policy initiatives**

Homeownership has long been the dominant housing tenure in Australia. (Troy 2000). The founder of the Liberal Party, Sir Robert Menzies', proudest boast was that he created the greatest 'home owning democracy' in the world. Under Menzies:

'Home ownership was the stake in the country. What bound the residents to their stakes were their mortgages. The notion was that once they had a target, some equity to hang on to or to strive for, householders would think and behave like capitalists' (Troy 2000, 720).

In their rhetoric at least, the Conservative parties have always been committed to a liberal sense of individual freedom and free enterprise (e.g. Liberal Party 2001), and their positions on homeownership reflect this overall stance. Homeownership was a central plank in Menzies appeal to the 'forgotten people' as he assembled the political coalition that became the Liberal Party, which he led to its first long term in government (e.g. Brett 1992).

Parliamentary support for homeownership has nearly always been bipartisan, and throughout the enactment of his policies on it unions backed Menzies, including those under



Communist leadership (Troy 2000). The bipartisan approach was very successful and from 1911 to 1947, homeownership in Australia had remained at around 50%. Nevertheless, the fact remains that Menzies presided over the quantum leap in homeownership levels, as one mark of his successful tapping of long-held aspirations in Australia (Troy 2000). Since 1961, when the country had the world's highest levels of private homeownership, it has been steady at around 70% (ABS 2002). Current Coalition policies continue the imagery Menzies crystallised. The First Home Buyers Scheme, for example, is explicitly pitched to the Great Australian Homeownership Dream (e.g. Liberal Party 2001).

However, the ownership of private property need not reflect a widespread commitment to either liberal individualism or progressive liberalism (Argy 1998). Several indicators show that other loyalties are in play. As in the current public doubt over further privatisation of Telstra, Australians have traditionally looked to a blend of public and private ownership (e.g. Braithwaite 1988; Western 1999). Governments and political parties of all persuasions have found that support for homeownership is useful in stimulating the economy. This micro-economic tinkering remains central to Coalition policy on homeownership (e.g. Howard 2001). The recent focus on the aging of the Australian population, with its effects of a shrinking tax-base and rising demands on health and welfare services, is just one example of repeated claims that the provision of community welfare cannot be sustained at previous levels. Against that background, both the Coalition and the Australian Labor Party (ALP) have developed policies on self-support in retirement: superannuation is one vehicle; property and share ownership is another. So just as communist-led unions in the 1950s backed Menzies on homeownership for the creation of jobs in the building industry rather

than through any commitment to private property, Labor party support for homeownership may be more a pragmatic response to voters' aspirations than a sign of conversion to the free market.

The meanings of homeownership are imbued with all the uncertainty associated with the links between individual ownership and different senses of communal belonging (Lundqvist 1998). This suggests a second issue: the social and civic implications of homeownership, or what Troy (2000) called the level of citizen competence that it entails. The participatory face of the liberal ideal is clear in Howard's aims to deepen the quality of our community life (Howard 1999). He appeals to the notion of community and echoes Menzies, who designed his own policy on homeownership to produce a 'patriotic, co-operative and cohesive society' (Troy 2000, 718). But while a certain amount of evidence does link homeownership and levels of civic or communal participation in Britain (e.g. Saunders 1990, 1993), other researchers have warned against the casual association of homeownership with responsible citizenship, social stability and industrial peace (Winter 1994, 6). Similarly, if the principle of economic survival of the fittest operates in competitive markets (Hockey 2001b), then it is hard to square Howard's 'cohesive community' with his fostering of private ownership. The investors that Hockey evokes seem more likely to be individualistic, competitors who go 'bowling alone' (Putnam 2000) rather than deepen their engagement in community life. On that basis, home buyers would be expected to be less civically engaged than home owners and private renters.

Federal government fiscal incentives, such as the capital gains tax and the first home buyers grant encourage financially independent citizens to participate in the market as home buyers (Troy 2000). The Federal government also provides \$1.8 billion per annum housing assistance in the form of Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) and a further \$800 million per annum via the Commonwealth State Housing Assistance (CSHA) to disadvantaged citizens who are unable to purchase their property (Wright-Howie 2004: Randolph and Jupp 1999). The desire of politicians and policy makers to promote greater levels of home ownership may be based on the belief that there is both a political and social payoff in homeownership which will translate into votes for the Coalition and increased levels of participation and membership in their local communities. However, there is some doubt according to Troy (2001) regarding the political payoff for the Coalition in promoting homeownership. Homeowners appear just as likely to vote for the opposition as the Coalition (MacAllister 1984). The idea that 'homeowners' are more likely to have higher levels of participation in local community affairs (Saunders 1990) than citizens in other housing tenures may also be misplaced. Recent research by Donoghue, Tranter and White (2003, 76) suggests that 'housing tenure has little substantive or statistically significant effect on any participation variable, other than trades union membership where the evidence suggests that renters are much less likely to be members of a trade union than home owners.' However, homeowners who 'owned shares in one company were much more likely to be members of cultural and charitable organisations' (Donoghue, Tranter and White 2003, 76).

The high levels of home ownership in Australia pose a potential problem: the role of 'ownership' in the relationship between individual freedom and collectivity responsibilities.

'Citizenship' has been linked to and contrast with private 'ownership', integration and national solidarity (e.g. Marshall 1950; Parsons 1977; Barbalet 1988). Ownership has traditionally been a mark of social membership and the price of entry to political participation (Aristotle 1964). Support for private homeownership was the primary way for the state to meet the demand for housing that emerged amid the development of universal political and social rights of modern citizenship (Marshall 1950, 1973; Saunders 1990, 1993). Concerns regarding homeownership have arisen because 'home ownership is seen as contributing to social advantage' and socio-tenurial polarisation (Yates 2002).

However, the leap from participation in the polity derived from homeownership to the civic engagement of active citizenship that is required for the maintenance of the national community is not self-evident. Marshall (1950, 122) recognises that there are 'contradictions' between capitalism and citizenship, and social stability is only 'achieved through a compromise which is not dictated by logic'. Even advocates of home ownership, such as Saunders (1990, 284) have noted that new homeowners tended to become more 'withdrawn' and 'snobby'. The tensions in Coalition policy identified by Troy in 'Suburbs of Acquiescence, Suburbs of Protest' (2000) also require analysis, as home purchase may have the potential to weaken as well as strengthen community engagement.

The Coalition parties have long been committed to a liberal sense of 'individual freedom and free enterprise' (e.g. Liberal Party 2001), and their position on homeownership reflects this stance. Home ownership was a central plank in Menzies' appeal to the 'forgotten people'. The liberal message is clear in Howard's aim to maintain Menzies home owning democracy

and his desire to 'to deepen the quality of our community life' (Howard 1999). Howard's appeal to notions of 'community' echoes Menzies, who designed his policy on homeownership 'to produce a patriotic, co-operative and cohesive society' which was also 'docile and compliant' (Troy 2000, 718). While private rental has often been imbued with images of lifestyle choice, mobility and transition, which imply a different sense of civic engagement and community membership to the images of security, stability and permanence associated with homeownership. However to claim a continuity between Menzies' and Howard's homeownership policy ignores historical differences in the national and global socio-economic context. These differences are reflected by claims for fiscal constraint, stronger families and community renewal (FACS 2000). The government focus on the aging of the Australian population, with its potential to shrink the tax-base and increase demands on health and welfare services, is one example of claims that the provision of homeownership and social housing cannot be sustained at current levels.

The Howard government's increased use of Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) to promote the access of low income citizens' to the private rental market also reflects a preference for market based housing solutions. The Commonwealth prefers to invest in the private rental market rather than increase capital expenditure on social housing. The question for government is will this policy promote higher levels of community participation and social cohesion or not? The irony of Federal government policy seeking market based solutions to address the housing needs of low income and disadvantaged people experiencing market failure is not lost on housing researchers (Randolph 1999: Burke 2001).

A tenuous link may be drawn between a citizen's status in the community and their housing tenure (Conley 2001). The 'homeowner' has been used to represent stability, commitment and participation in the community; in contrast the renter represented mobility, choice and freedom. The public tenant in this 'scenario' would be regarded as dependent, needy and a consumer rather than a producer of the public good. The citizenship understanding of people in receipt of housing and income support forms an important area of this research (see Lister 2001). The status of public and private rental tenants may also vary depending on their age, education, place of birth, family composition, race, employment history and health. The content and form of citizenship understandings may vary to reflect the consumption practices of homeowners or renters. An alternative or marginal perspective and practice of citizenship may reflect the nature and type of opportunities (including education, employment and housing) available to citizens in receipt of particular social rights in Australia.

Citizens in rental properties especially social housing, who are more reliant on the state for the provision of affordable housing and income support, may have a different understanding and experience of the civil, political and social rights of citizenship than homeowners. The citizens in social housing are perceived to have a more dependent relationship to the State than property owning (home owning) citizens, and this has been conceived by some liberal sociologists, such as Saunders (1990) and Turner (1993) in terms of low-level civic participation and limited social cohesion. Citizens who reside in public housing estates are more likely to be reliant on the state for economic and material entitlements. They may well enjoy political and social equality via their civil and political rights but they may also

experience social, cultural and economic disadvantage, feelings of inequality and resentment due to unemployment and the stigma associated with public housing.

In order to examine these claims it is necessary to research the content and form of citizen's understandings of social rights and participation levels in their local community. This research will seek to determine the range of attitudes and opportunities experienced by citizen 'clients' in public and community housing, their levels of civic participation and sense of membership and security in the local and wider community.

## **Analysis**

The capacity of developed nation-states to deliver the universal provision of social rights has been questioned by the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (Raper 2005). The executive arm of government appears to be attempting to renegotiate the social contract with its citizens, especially those that are considered dependent. The perception of citizenship in terms of membership, participation and security may be based on an awareness of particular civil, political, social and cultural rights, and the manifest or latent opportunities to act on them, which are provided by the nation state. However, as mentioned earlier citizenship and civic consciousness, as Graetz (1986, 46) argued (with regard to class), 'may be informed by elements of belief and desire as well as fact.' Cultural and political beliefs as well as material desire need to be differentiated from civic and citizenship consciousness. How marginalised citizens relate to elite notions of membership, participation and security

on one hand or exclusion, passivity and dependency on the other hand needs to be determined.

In the Australian context the debate regarding levels of social participation are frequently couched in terms of social inclusion or social exclusion, rather than in terms of civic engagement, participation and membership in the local community (see Marston 2004: Arthurson and Jacobs 2003). An exception is Winter and Stone's (1998) analysis of housing careers, which maintains that tenure based social marginalisation, rather than polarisation, has occurred in Australia. The effect of this marginalisation has been that low skilled and low paid citizens have been clustered in private and particularly public rental housing. The spatial concentration of people with low skills and low incomes in public housing areas reinforces the problems of stigma, alienation and disadvantage that residents' experience (Randolph and Jupp 1999, 8). The aging and poor design of some public housing stock further marginalises residents who are 'characterised by poverty, low education and high unemployment' (Arthurson 2002, 245).

The creation of a 'balanced social mix' in public housing estates is regarded as a potential policy solution to the problems created by the concentration of disadvantaged households and sense of social exclusion. Balancing the social mix it is hoped will create more 'inclusive communities' which in turn 'provide positive role models of good citizens and lead to other advantages such as access to labour market networks (Arthurson 2002, 247). This begs the question what is a good citizen and how is that measured? By participation in the workforce or in community based activities? As Arthurson (2002, 247) notes the notion of a balanced



social mix poses several other questions: How do residents in different housing tenures interact? Do residents with different income levels in the same neighbourhood become more aware of class differences? And do tenure based differences promote tension rather than integration?

There is a stark contrast between Marshall's (1950, 1973) liberal notion of good citizenship which develop social rights such as public education, health and housing to promote 'a share in the cultural heritage of the nation', and the neo-liberal view of Saunders (1990, 1993) 'snobby' homeowners or Howard's (2001) 'stakeholders', who equate home ownership with a material 'stake in the nation'. The question is whether economic investment is more likely than cultural or civic identity to produce good citizenship and the development of 'deeper community ties'? (Troy 2000). There is also the problem of growing inequality and difference between notionally equal citizens at different ends of the housing continuum, with the poor in large public housing estates and the rich in private gated communities.

The government certainly seeks to legitimise its activities and balances the needs of individuals and communities. The promotion of homeownership by the State is one way to promote legitimacy and support as the majority (71%) of Australians are engaged in homeownership as owners or buyers (ABS 2002). The desire of politicians and policy makers to promote home ownership to citizens is based on the belief that there is both an electoral and community payoff: in votes for the coalition and increased levels of community participation. I asked two main questions in this chapter: whether homeownership and rental

housing imply different expressions of citizenship or civic engagement; and whether increasing levels of homeownership will raise levels of community participation.

The Howard government has presided over what at first glance appears to be a major shift in housing policy in Australia. By directing resources from the Commonwealth State Housing Agreement (CSHA) which funds public housing development via the State Housing Authorities to Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) which subsidises private rental housing. This has been explained in terms of the size of the Australian private rental sector, which comprises 20% of the national housing stock, while public rental is significantly smaller only 5.4% (ABS 2001). In Britain, the tenure situation is reversed as 'council' housing represents approximately 20% of the total housing stock while private rental is only 5%. The concentration of the most disadvantaged households in public housing in Australia has resulted in 'welfare communities' according to Dalton (2004) which is seen as both a barrier to civic engagement and cause of intergenerational poverty and unemployment.

While the continuation of the first homebuyer's grant is in line with traditional liberal ideology the promotion of Commonwealth Rental Assistance may not promote 'stronger communities' (FACS 2000). I argue that Marshall and Mannheim would criticise policies promoting homeownership and private rental because they do not address the underlying causes of social inequality. I would suggest that despite the common grounding in the market place that underpins liberal government policy, support for homeownership and private rental subsidies entail different dynamics and produce different social outcomes, which will be discussed in the research findings.

The next chapter will detail the research methods utilised in this study but before then I will briefly re-state the theoretical model. As I mentioned in the first two chapters the meaning of citizenship has long been disputed (see Isin 2002, Lister 1997) and cross cut by debates regarding the political, economic and cultural resources associated with the status of citizens (Mannheim 1952: Turner 1993). As mentioned earlier Marshall (1973, 71) elaborated citizenship in terms of its civil, political and social elements, to which Parsons (1977) added a cultural dimension. Later, Barbalet (1988) connected Marshall's theory of citizenship to notions of class resentment and the struggle for social equality, and Lister (1997) identified the gendered nature of that social inequality.

While, Marshall (1973, 70) defined citizenship in terms of 'full membership' in the national community, Aristotle (1964) regarded 'political participation' as the key element in distinguishing the full citizen. For the purposes of this research I have operationalised citizenship in terms of civil, cultural, and political membership, participation and security. The typology of tenure based citizenship developed in chapter eight, suggests that there is an emphasis on formal civic membership by some citizens and informal cultural participation by others, which can be understood in terms of citizenship and tenure status rather than in terms of housing classes (see Rex and Moore 1967).

Chapter eight outlines an interpretive typology of citizens in different housing tenures, which relates to varying types of membership, participation and security in the national community. The typology attempts to highlight some of the striking and interesting features of tenure

related attitudes and practices of citizenship gleaned during the research process. The typology will take into account information gleaned from the AES 2001 data and from previous housing research (see Donoghue and Tranter 2005).

## **Chapter Four**

### **Research Methods**

The aim of this research is to examine how people in different housing tenures understand and practice their citizenship rights. I decided to use a combination of qualitative and quantitative research techniques to undertake the study because qualitative research methods would provide insights and understanding of citizenship, while the quantitative research would allow me to reliably measure attitudinal information. The two methodologies can be seen as complementary rather than competitive approaches to addressing a complex research problem (Pidgeon 1998, 16). The purpose of the quantitative analysis is to produce robust statistical conclusions that can be applied to the general population, whereas the qualitative analysis will provide 'rich' information and 'thick' citizenship descriptions from the small telephone sample.

Eighty subjects were randomly selected from the Southern Tasmanian 2002 telephone book and structured telephone interviews (see copy of questionnaire in appendix) were conducted with people living in four different housing tenures: homeowners, homebuyers, public and private rental tenants. The public and private rental citizens were over sampled due to the fact that almost 70% of Australian households are either buying or already own their house and are more likely than renters to be contacted in a random telephone survey. In order to develop a framework and inform the qualitative

research, I undertook a basic secondary analysis of the Australian Election Survey (AES) 2001 data.

The research takes into account the need to triangulate the position of people in different housing tenures in relation to their understanding and practice of citizenship. By using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, it is possible to address the issues of validity and reliability inherent in any research project (de Vaus 1995). Triangulation of the data provides breadth and depth to the research and allows informed analysis, interpretation and explanation of tenure effects, such as tenure based inequality, on citizenship understandings and practices (Denzin 1970). The collection of data from a range of sources allowed me to construct a social typology, as an additional coding device, which is outlined in chapter nine (see Lofland and Lofland, 1971, 81-82).

In addition to structured interviews and analysis of the AES 2001 data, I have over twelve years work experience in the community housing sector in Hobart. During the past six years, I have worked as the manager of a medium sized non government housing association. I have undertaken over 500 separate housing interviews with low income and disadvantaged people seeking accommodation in southern Tasmania. My interest in the topic of housing tenure and citizenship relates not only to my work in the community-housing sector but also to my status as a dual citizen of Australia and Britain. The meaning of citizenship became an issue for consideration when I decided to 'achieve' the status of Australian citizen rather than remain a resident of the nation state.

I had not considered what it meant to be a citizen prior to applying for Australian citizenship because I had been 'ascribed' the status of a British citizen at birth. This sense of achievement can also be applied to homeowners who choose to invest in a property rather than purchase consumer goods, shares or rent privately. However the 'dream' of homeownership remains unaffordable and unachievable for many people in private rental and social housing.

My work in the community-housing sector has been focused by social policy eligibility criteria on people with a low income, who have no capital and limited finance with which to purchase a home. The targeting of social housing to people in receipt of a Commonwealth pension or benefit has concentrated disadvantage and poverty in particular locations and in particular social housing programs (Randolf and Juff 1999; Dalton 2004). The original questions it posed for me were; do people in social housing properties understand and experience their citizenship rights in the same way as other citizens, such as homeowners and home buyers? And what, if any, are the differences in the understanding and practice of citizenship and how do they relate to civic engagement, active membership and government policy?

It is argued in this study that a citizen's housing tenure will influence the 'ties that bind' them to their community and the state. The degree to which different housing tenures foster and promote (or deter) active and dynamic citizenship, which is operationalised in the form of participation, membership and security in the local community, is a

central theme of this research. Participation in the community has long been recognised as a key indicator of active citizenship and civic engagement by political scientists and social researchers (Saunders 1993, Putnam 2000).

Before any detailed discussion of the issues and research findings it is necessary to outline the research design. A variety of perspectives and approaches were used because they have something to offer any research design. Bouma (2000, 182) argues that it is “often better to use several data-gathering techniques to answer a research question”. Sayer (1992) supports the inclusion of both qualitative and quantitative methods in the research design, but he warns against confusing the two sets of data. The qualitative research will build upon and supplement the data gleaned from the quantitative survey. After evaluating a variety of research methods, reviewing my community housing experience and the associated literature, I decided to apply a triangular research model to analysis tenure based differences in relation to aspects of citizenship and civic engagement (see Denzin 1970).

### **Methodological choices**

#### **a) The quantitative/qualitative debate**

I recognise that there are philosophical and practice differences between quantitative and qualitative researchers, which need to be addressed as this thesis employs both methodologies. I would agree with Hughes (1980, 2) who suggests that philosophical



questions need “to be settled in order to make empirical inquiries possible at all.” The initial subject that needs to be addressed is what is meant by philosophy here? In a minimalist way, philosophy “aims to clear away obstacles that lie in the way of knowledge, such as vague speech”, but at a grand level it is concerned “with constructing the whole of human knowledge into logically connected systems” (Hughes 1980, 13-14).

In terms of sociological research methods, philosophical debates have ranged as to whether they can be scientific like the natural sciences, or not. The relevance of philosophy in sociological enquiry arises from the fact that

“every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and ways of knowing that world made by the researcher using them” (Hughes 1970, 13).

Research methods are not self validating they are dependent on the philosophical justifications and approach of the researcher. Specific research techniques, such as random telephone interviews, content and secondary data analysis, are utilised by social researchers to provide appropriate knowledge that can be applied to the research question in a minimal, mixed or systematic approach.

Quantitative researchers have generally subscribed to the systems approach and argue that knowledge is different to opinion and belief and can be gained by observation,

measurement and an objective perception of the world, which is external and independent of the researcher and “outside meanings and language” (Hughes 1980, 122). In contrast, qualitative researchers have emphasised the way in which the social and the natural world are “created in and through meanings” and language (Hughes 1980, 122). The problems for humanists centre on the nature and “criteria of adequate understandings, social and cultural relativism, and the relationship between actors’ concepts and those of an observer” (Hughes 1970, 123).

Critics of empiricist accounts of social life, such as Hughes (1980, 123), claim that they have failed to provide laws of social life equivalent in scope and predictive capacity to those provided by the natural sciences. They have failed to take into account the “fact that the social world is constructed through meanings and practices predicated on them”, and have failed to provide a neutral observation language (Hughes 1980, 123). Instead of being a neutral reporter the positivist researcher is regarded as “an active agent in the construction of the world” through the specific ideas and themes incorporated in this form of knowledge (Hughes 1980, 123). Following Weber and Mannheim, this thesis argues that there is a middle path between these two philosophical and methodological positions.

Weber (cited in Hughes 1976, 25) argued for sociological analysis that was “adequate at the level of meaning” but also “stressed the need for verification of this kind of analysis by the canons of science as normally understood.” Weber, like Mannheim (1922),

recognised that knowledge is socially and historically grounded which creates a problem of objectivity for the researcher. Weber (1949) developed two techniques, the 'ideal type' and 'verstehen' to understand and explain social reality. The 'ideal type' was a device for constructing basic systems, in the shape of rational social forms from central values, as in the case of authority. In contrast, 'verstehen' requires the researcher to place themselves in the position of other people in order to understand and

"empathise with the points of view of those under investigation so that their world constructed out of meanings could be rationally formulated" (Hughes 1980, 116)

This thesis draws on Weber's approach and uses mixed methods or triangulation to understand and formulate citizenship in terms of housing tenures. Triangulation is defined as "a research strategy that involves using several methods to reveal multiple aspects of a single empirical reality" (Silverman 1997, 35). I would agree with Denzin (1978) who argues that it is a valuable research strategy, because each research method has particular strengths and weaknesses, and research findings generally reflect the method of inquiry used by the researcher. Triangulation allows the researcher to "look at something from different angles to get a fix on its true position" (Neuman 1994, 140). Triangulation provides a flexible but reliable approach, which in this research involves quantitative research that can be generalized to the wider population, and qualitative research, which promotes greater understanding and interpretation of the data. The

content analysis of specific government literature on citizenship and housing informs the researcher's political, economic and cultural understanding.

According to Neuman (1991, 62) an interpretive researcher using qualitative research methods is inductive. The researcher 'talks with and observes specific people from a particular group', in this case citizens in different housing tenures in order, in this thesis, to identify different citizenship understandings and practices. I used telephone 'conversations' to find out what people understood about citizenship and to describe what I found (Neuman 1991, 62). Telephone conversations allow the analyst to develop findings that resonate with the people who are being studied and the evidence is "embedded in the context of fluid social interaction" (Neuman 1991, 63).

The researcher who applies a quantitative approach deduces hypotheses from a theory, probably in the form of casual statements and predictions. Then he gathers information from existing statistics, conducts a survey on factors that the theory identifies, or undertakes secondary analysis as in the case of this thesis. Finally the researcher examines the information to test predictions and discover natural laws or patterns. Explanations are logically connected to laws or patterns and based on precise observations which can be repeated by others (Neuman 1991, 62-63).

I would argue that the triangulation, or mixing of research methods, has the capacity to inform and empower people by raising their social awareness regarding citizenship.

Triangulation can only produce robust research findings if the researcher recognises the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches. The mixing of data from different methods can be problematic if the researcher does not take into account the structures and meanings developed within the theoretical perspective of the thesis (Silverman 1997). In this thesis the theoretical perspective involves the combination of Marshall's rational, modern explanation of the development of citizenship with Mannheim's dynamic cultural, economic and political thought styles, which reflect the methodological mixing of rational secondary data analysis and culturally contingent telephone interview data.

#### b) An ethical position

This thesis is also concerned with the ethical implications of the proposed research. Lofland and Lofland (1984, 18) pose two questions for the researcher to contemplate prior to undertaking the research, firstly should the particular subject or issue be studied, and secondly should the subject be studied by me? The purposes of these questions are to encourage the researcher to gauge the "potential negative consequences that the research or its publication might have for various parties". I felt that the relationship between the equality implied by citizenship and inequality experienced by people in different housing tenures required investigation, and as a social housing worker I was motivated to undertake the research.

Before undertaking the telephone interviews subjects were informed that the research was sanctioned and approved by the University of Tasmania's ethics committee and I guaranteed the interviewee anonymity, confidentiality and privacy. There appears to be little room for debate regarding the University research process and the need for ethical approval from the ethics committee. However, the methods and conduct of the research provide opportunities to consider any ethical implications or risks associated with the study. The goal of the researcher is to collect the 'richest' possible data, using a wide and diverse range of information collected over a relatively prolonged period of time, through direct contact with, and "prolonged immersion" and "intimate familiarity" with, in this case, citizens in a variety of housing tenures (Lofland and Lofland 1984, 11).

## **Research methods**

This study steps back from pure debates and makes use of qualitative and quantitative methods and data. Although I appreciate that there are differences between qualitative and quantitative research they can be mixed. I started the research process by undertaking quantitative analysis using national survey data, which indicated trends in civic participation and membership across different housing tenures. In order to gain more detailed information regarding that participation and membership I carried out a small qualitative study. I will review the qualitative methods in the next section but in

the following section I will outline the quantitative analysis, which involved the secondary analysis of a national survey, the Australian Election Survey 2001.

### 1) Secondary data analysis

Although Bauman (1992) regards statistical analysis of limited analytical value because society has become more unpredictable and complex, the use of a quantitative element provides both a means of sensitising the researcher to general trends and a point of departure from which to initiate the qualitative research. The empirical research in this thesis partly draws on the analysis of a national survey. The Australian Election Study (AES) 2001 data was examined to provide a national dimension to the thesis. The findings of the quantitative analysis were intended to sensitise the research with regard to several citizenship themes; initially these questions related to the sections of the AES 2001 data that focused on the overall importance, extension and preference for Australian citizenship in the population. These particular questions were cross-tabulated with data relating to age, education, gender, occupation and place of birth to inform the thesis.

The AES 2001 (Bean, McAllister and Gow 2002) is a large national survey that allowed me to test expectations regarding tenure and the practice of citizenship in a much larger population than the structured interviews, which related to participation and active membership in charitable, sporting, arts, educational, music and professional associations and clubs. The AES 2001 research was conducted via a mail-out to a

nationally representative sample. The number of cases, 2010, represents a response rate of 55%. The survey included questions on homeownership and on a variety of behaviours that can be operationalised as measures of 'active' citizenship. The data relating to outright homeowners and people buying their home have a certain 'face' validity. The AES 2001 results are compared to the distribution of housing tenures reported by the ABS 2000 after Table 4.1 (below), which outlines the distribution of housing tenures in Australia.

**Table 4.1:** The AES 2001 distribution of housing tenures (per cent) in Australia

	Percent %	Frequency
Home Owner	41.9	818
Purchaser	32.3	631
Private Rental	11.7	228
Public rental	4.1	81
Other	9.0	195
Missing	1.0	57
Total	100%	2010 (n)

Q. Do you Own, are you buying or do you rent your home? Source: AES 2001

The AES 2001 data indicates that the majority of Australians are homeowners (74.2%), who either own their property outright (42%) or are purchasing there home (32%). Around twelve percent of people are renting in the private sector with approximately four percent renting from State Housing Authorities, which operate public housing.



The remainder or 'other' 9% are in boarding and rooming houses, shelters, caravan parks or living at home. However the AES 2001 data appears to have over sampled outright 'homeowners' by over 4% and under sampled people in private rental by nearly 9% in comparison to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2000) data. Although the 'other' category is over represented in the AES 2001 sample by 6%, the two sets of figures are comparable. I have operationalised civic engagement from the following question in the 2001 AES: Are you an active member of any of the following voluntary organizations, an inactive member or not a member? The AES listed four types of organisation: sport or recreational; art, music or educational; professional; and charitable organisation. The thesis also draws on data from a telephone survey which is outlined in the next section.

## 2) The qualitative approach

As mentioned earlier, I conducted interviews with eighty citizens from four different housing tenures. I used a structured interview schedule during the telephone interviews to gather what Lofland and Lofland (1985, 12) describe as "rich and detailed material" relating to citizens understanding of their citizenship rights and levels of civic and cultural participation, membership and security.

The aim of the structured interviews was to "elicit choices between alternative answers to preformed questions" and build upon the information collected from the secondary

data analysis (Lofland and Lofland 1985, 12). In contrast to unstructured interviews, which are aimed at exploring informant's individual experience, structured interviews are often used by social researchers to determine the strength and frequency of understandings, and are compatible with quantitative methods (Civics Experts Group 1994).

I recognise that data collection consisting of telephone interviews, even using open ended questions, is somewhat removed from the traditional 'face to face' qualitative practice. However, it is an approach that fits well with the quantitative methods used in this thesis. The structured interview questions clearly address the citizenship themes posed by the thesis, in terms of membership, participation and security, and extend the information gleaned from the secondary data analysis. As Lofland and Lofland (1985) clearly appreciate all 'research conversations' are integral parts of information and evidence gathering

I explained to all participants in the telephone interviews that I was a Ph.D. student undertaking research for my thesis at the University of Tasmania. And I requested to speak to a person in the house who was an Australian citizen and aged 18 years or more. All participants were requested not to provide their name or any personal information, as it was not required and in order to protect their privacy. Participants were also informed of the reason for my call and that I was exploring what people understood by the term 'citizenship', and how people's views and actions might be

reflected in their different housing arrangements - whether they were renters, homeowners or buyers. Participants were told that the research would involve asking questions about their views, values and practices on these issues. If they were prepared to be interviewed on this subject - they were informed that their participation would be entirely voluntary and very much appreciated - and that the interview would last up to 30 minutes. All responses to the telephone interviews were manually recorded on individually numbered interview schedules. The schedules all have been kept in a secure location by the researcher.

Interviewees were informed that they could stop or opt-out of the interview at any time. Only one participant started and then opted out of the interview after five minutes due to unanticipated time constraints. All participants were informed that they had a choice with regard to the information sheet associated with this telephone interview. I could read the information or mail it to their postal address. I assured them that all personal information would remain confidential i.e. their name or anything that could identify them was not recorded and I was happy to answer any questions they may have had regarding the research prior to, during or after the interview.

#### a) Sampling issues

The sampling frame for the telephone survey was derived from the Hobart and Southern Tasmania White Pages 2002. Simple random sampling was used starting from

page 58 of the white pages with surnames beginning with A for Abbott and proceeding through to page 370 which has surnames with Y for Young. There are 312 pages of domestic telephone numbers in these white pages. Each page consists of five columns of approximately 80 names, addresses and numbers. There are approximately 400 domestic telephone numbers on each page. By systematically selecting one domestic telephone number from each column, in this case the fortieth number as it is half way down the column of the eighty numbers, and then calling 5 numbers from each page the sample size would be 1560. The sample size was ultimately 50% larger than required, as only 770 telephone numbers were called during the survey before the 'sample quota' of 80 participants was achieved.

The plan to call respondents 'cold', without any prior notification, was developed in order to reduce the cost and reduce the amount of time required to undertake the survey. I anticipated a higher rate of 'non-contact' or 'refusal' to participate in the survey than was achieved. De Vaus (1995, 72) indicates that it is important to have a large sample size to increase accuracy, avoid bias and to analyse subgroups. A sample quota of twenty respondents per housing tenure was required for the qualitative component of the research. It was anticipated that I would be more likely to make contact with homeowners and homebuyers using a simple random design, as they comprise 70% of the total housing stock. The difficulty would be in contacting renters without over sampling homeowners and targeting particular suburbs with a higher concentration of rental accommodation, which could be identified using the ABS 2001

Census of Population and Housing guide to Hobart. It is worth noting that generating random telephone numbers was also considered in order to overcome the problem of bias caused by unlisted numbers not appearing in the white pages (Neuman 1979, 342). However the selection of numbers from the telephone book provided useful additional information for the survey in relation to the location of non-contacts, refusals and disconnected telephone numbers (see appendix).

Telephone questionnaires have particular requirements because as de Vaus (1995, 95) notes 'telephone interviews rely totally on verbal communication.' For example it is very important to follow the question wording in a survey exactly as a slight change 'may lead the respondent to answer 'yes' rather than 'no' to a specific question (Neuman 1979, 340). Neuman (1994, 240) also claims that 'open ended questions are difficult to use in telephone interviews'. I used a number of open ended and closed questions with a combination of filter questions, two step questions and limited response questions in the survey. The limited response questions included categories, such as 'more, less, don't know, and other'.

The layout of the questionnaire (see appendix) ensured instructions to interviewees were clear and next to the specific question, and subheadings introduced each new topic for discussion. Space was made available on each questionnaire for responses to be recorded below the relevant question. All interviews began with a request for demographic information e.g. age, gender, post code, suburb, marital status, number of

children, place of birth, cultural identity, language, highest level of education, class identity, employment status, main occupation and income source. Interviewees were then requested to supply details of their housing arrangements including how long they had lived in the property, was it rented or owned by them, if rented would they like to own their own home and if not why not?

Questions regarding respondent's attitudes to Australian citizenship were discussed including the meaning, main advantages and disadvantages of being an Australian citizen. The next set of questions focused on the benefits of Australian citizenship and any privileges, obligations, duties and sacrifices respondents associated with citizenship. The fifth section was comprised of questions that questioned the value respondents placed on Australian citizenship, including feelings of pride, the value they placed on citizenship and the value other citizens placed on it, and how appreciation could be increased.

The sixth section of the questionnaire explored respondent's attitudes to people acquiring Australian citizenship. For example should all people who come to live in Australia become citizens, should they have to speak English, do they have to be born in Australia to be a true Australian. The characteristics and examples of a good citizen were also sought from respondents. The seventh section of the questionnaire requested respondent's views on citizen's rights. Do citizens have particular rights, what were the most important ones, were any rights under threat and if so by whom?

After a review of interviewees understanding of citizenship rights the focus turned to their housing rights, sense of a secure home or lack of security, housing affordability, housing appropriateness and a simple 'yes, no, or other' question to finish, which asked if they had friends or family in the local community? This question sets up the final section on the level of participation in and identification with the local community. Questions in this section explored the person's sense of membership in the local community, the reason for living in the area, any preference to live somewhere else, involvement in voluntary and community work, reasons for participating or not, involvement with the local school, neighbourhood watch or a sporting club. Their type of group involvement, reasons for involvement and involvement with local church or charities was also discussed. Finally the benefits and disadvantages of participation in the local community were discussed. Respondent's membership in political, union and community groups, contact with councils, politicians and the media, and their engagement in social action were also questioned.

#### b) Conducting the interviews

The questionnaire was pilot tested prior to the telephone survey to improve it, make it flow, filter responses, promote respondent interest and attention, and to make it more user friendly (de Vaus 1995, 101-102). The main problem with the questionnaire was the length as it generally took 30 minutes to complete. The questionnaire could have been shortened by cutting out sections, four, five and six which are concerned with the

benefits, value and acquisition of Australian citizenship. These sections were not dropped because it was felt that people who agreed to participate would complete the survey and the data collected from these sections would enhance the research.

De Vaus (1995) noted that telephone surveys have a bad reputation among professional researchers. The use of telephone surveys for market research and marketing purposes has extended that reputation to the general population who increasingly regard them as a 'nuisance' (de Vaus 1995) or a hard sell. According to Neuman (1994, 244) the telephone interview is a popular survey method in developed nations because over "95 percent of the population can be reached by telephone." The interviewer can call a respondent at home, ask the questions set out in the questionnaire and record the answers. Other advantages include the speed at which respondents can be contacted, as there is no time spent travelling and no formal dress requirements for the interview. Telephone interviews are also about half the cost of face-to-face interviews (Neuman 1994, 245).

The major weakness of the telephone interview is that the interviewer can only listen for clues rather than make eye contact or read body language to assess the accuracy of the information. There are several other disadvantages associated with telephone surveys according to Neuman (1994, 245). They are slightly more expensive than postal surveys and more importantly they generally allow only a limited amount of time for an interview, between 10 and 30 minutes at the most. However, once a person starts an



interview they nearly always finish it (de Vaus 1995, 121), which proved to be the case with this research.

It is assumed that the items in a questionnaire mean the same thing to the interviewer and the interviewee, but this is not always the case. The process of pilot testing the questionnaire clarified several citizenship questions and simplified the concepts so that the interviewer could become a more neutral medium through which questions and answers are transmitted (de Vaus 1995). The use of electronic audio recording equipment is common in qualitative research (Bouma 2000, 183) but was not utilised in this study. The idea of taping telephone interviews presented a potential barrier to gaining the trust and cooperation of respondents.

Denzin (1978) suggests that survey responses should be recorded exactly as given. This allows the interviewer to capture subtle differences and nuances in the responses during the course of the interviews. During the course of the telephone interviews the exact words of all respondents were written down on individual questionnaire schedules, which were then numbered sequentially from 1 to 81, which includes the one male participant in private rental who did not complete the interview. As Lofland and Lofland (1984) point out the survey 'data consists of whatever is logged'. Anticipated responses, patterns and trends in tenure based social action or engagement may not materialise and so responses were not manually coded until after all the interviews were

logged and processed. Additional notes were recorded in the margin of interview schedules to clarify unusual responses and to assist interpretation (Denzin 1978).

De Vaus (1995: 121) claims that “obtaining good response rates with telephone interviews depends on two main factors: locating the respondent and getting them to agree to take part in the interview”. Contact was made with people during 313 calls from the total sample of 770 random telephone calls made from the Southern Tasmanian 2002 Telephone Directory during the course of the survey. As Neuman (1994, 239) contends, response rates for telephone interviews are usually based on those who responded, the number of people who were located and contacted, rather than the number who were sampled.

Telephone interview survey response rates can also be increased using a variety of methods. Neuman (1994, 239) suggests that sending letters to participants prior to the interview, keeping the interview short (less than 15 minutes long), varying the calling times and making follow up telephone calls before dropping the respondent, as good strategies. I decided to 'cold call' telephone numbers to maximise the speed of the survey, reduce the costs and increase the privacy of respondents. After making 770 random telephone calls I would agree with Gillham's (2000, 77) assessment that cold calling “in a culture where telephone selling is often seen as a contemporary nuisance, can be a punishing experience”.

The 313 responses to the telephone calls made during the research can be broken down into three distinct groups: the 'yes' cases, the 'no' cases and the 'already sampled' cases. There were 81 people contacted, who said 'yes' they would take part in the survey, in other words 26% of respondents who were 'cold called' agreed to take part and were interviewed. Only one participant withdrew from the telephone interview before completing the survey because he 'did not have the time' to answer all the questions. The 79 'already sampled' cases represent 25% of the total 313 responses. They were homeowners and homebuyers who were willing to take part in the survey but were not interviewed because I needed to interview more renters. At this point in the survey process I did not need to interview any more homeowners or homebuyers even though they were willing to participate. I was still trying to randomly contact people in social housing and private rental accommodation who would participate in the research.

There were 137 cases or 44% of respondents who refused to take part in the survey. They cited that they were either 'too busy', 'not interested' or had 'other things to do' with their time rather than answer 'another' telephone survey. Sixteen (5%) respondents requested I either call back at a more convenient time or indicated that they were ineligible to take part in the interview for a variety of reasons. One respondent, an international student at the University of Tasmania, was a citizen of Hong Kong. He would have been willing to undertake a cross national comparison of housing tenure and citizenship rights but was not eligible to participate in this research. Of the 'other' ineligible respondents, one person was a non citizen on holiday in Tasmania, there were

three cases of people 'house sitting' a property, and three young people 'home alone' who were not full citizens being under 18 years of age. Of the eight respondents who said I should call them back at a more convenient time or indicated that they would call me at the University of Tasmania during the week three of them later agreed to take part in the research.

The actual response rate for the telephone survey was 51 %, which is achieved by adding the 'yes' cases with the 'already sampled' cases but the response rate is further increased if the 8 ineligible cases or 2.5% of respondents are excluded from the total number of responses. When ineligible responses are excluded the response rate is increased to 53%. Neuman (1994, 239) suggests that a response rate over 50 % is adequate especially when a quarter of the respondents are from low income areas "who pose a special problem" for researchers. The reluctance of people to participate in the survey may in part be due to one of a variety of factors including "a fear of strangers and crime, social isolation, an over load of surveys and...in addition to privacy concerns, an unfavourable past experience with surveys" (Neuman 1994. 239).

There were 457 telephone calls to numbers where a respondent could not be reached during the survey. The lack of any response have been due to a number of factors including the time of day that the calls was made or the time of year, as all the calls were made during the Australian school summer holidays in January and February 2002. Calling times were divided each day into three sections to target as wide a cross section

of the home telephone owning population as possible and 'no contact' numbers were not called back. Telephone calls were made between three times each day from 10.30 to 12.30 am, 1.30 to 3.30 p.m. and 4.30 to 6.30 p.m. on Monday to Saturday. The no contact phone calls can be divided into three distinct groups that comprise 'no response' 325 cases, 'answering machine' 74 cases and 'disconnected' telephone 58 cases. A review of the location of disconnected phone lines (see Table A.4 in the appendix) suggests that numbers were more frequently disconnected in a suburbs with higher levels of public housing such as Clarendon Vale (5 cases), Rokeby (6 cases), Bridgewater (7 cases) and Gagebrook (12 cases). This indicates that over 50% of the disconnected numbers were in what Neuman (1994: 240) refers to as 'low income areas', which pose a problem to researchers.

#### c) Data reliability and analysis

The aim of the research and reason for using mixed methods was to gain reliable data and objective findings. Douglas (1978, 57) identifies four main problems in the way of researchers seeking reliable data, they include; misinformation, evasion, lies and fronts. He also outlines three less apparent problems for researchers, which include taken for granted meanings, problematic meanings and self-deception. The reliability of the information provided by the questionnaire (the indicator) is very important. Neuman (1994, 127) defines reliability as a measure that "gives you the same result each time the

same thing is measured". In simple terms reliability means that the measure is dependable and can be repeated by someone else undertaking the same research.

Another important feature of research is the 'measurement validity'; for example the measure may be reliable but not valid. Validity indicates that the measure is 'true' and its content captures the correct or entire meaning. Neuman (1994, 131) warns that "we can never achieve absolute validity" but some measures are more valid than others. The rate of progress outlined in Table 4.2 (below) indicates that the simple random sample used in this survey was both a reliable and valid method to survey people in different housing tenures. After 40 interviews 9 respondents (22.5%) of all participants indicated that they lived in public or private rental accommodation compared to the 31 cases (or 77.5%) who were homeowners and homebuyers who were slightly over represented at this stage.

**Table 4.2:      Rate of Response by Housing Tenures**

	Public	Private	Buyer	Owner
No. of interviews				
80	20	20	20	20
70	14	16	20	20
60	9	15	20	18
50	6	10	18	15
40	2	7	16	15

After 50 telephone interviews, which de Vaus (1995, 73) claims is a sufficient number of cases to indicate accuracy, the majority of respondents were primarily homeowners or buyers who reflect 68% of the sample and comprise almost 70% of the housing tenure population (ABS 2002). After completing fifty telephone interviews it was necessary to 'target' low income suburbs in order to access citizens in private and public rental housing and achieve an equal number of respondents for each of the four housing tenures.

When all eighty telephone interviews had been completed the interview schedules were divided by housing tenure and responses were manually recorded in a code book by tenure. This allowed for the easy comparison of citizen's responses to each question to be undertaken within and between the four different housing tenures. The coding and analysis of the responses identified common meanings and practices with regard to citizenship rights, participation, membership and security across all tenures. This simple information management system also highlighted unique tenure related meanings and practices. The 'thick' description, detailed analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data from the eighty telephone interviews will be detailed in chapters six and seven.

## Triangulation in practice

I approached this study as an experienced community-housing worker, which influenced both the design of the research and the manner in which it was conducted, and although I have not analysed agency data in this study I have been informed by it (see Donoghue and Tranter 2005). My association with the community housing sector in Hobart provides the research with a perspective grounded in social housing and rights.

As mentioned earlier I appreciate that there are philosophical and research practice differences between quantitative and qualitative researchers. However, I would agree with Denzin (1970, 297) who suggests that “the sociologist should examine his problem from as many different methodological perspectives as possible”. Denzin (1970, 297-298) is an advocate of triangulation, or the combination of methods in the study of the same research problem because “each research method reveals peculiar elements of symbolic reality”. I would argue that the use of multiple methods, provides the social researcher with information that will raise them “above the personalistic biases that stem from single methodologies” and data sources (Denzin 1970, 300).

The combination of methods can address deficiencies that stem from the reliance on any one particular approach. In this study, while the interpretative analysis of structured interviews cannot be generalised to the national population the AES 2001 data analysis extends the width of the study and can be applied at a national level. The secondary



data analysis can tell us if citizenship is important but the telephone interviews allow us to explore why it is important. The telephone interviews also provide an opportunity to gain information from low income rental tenants who were under represented in the AES 2001 data. The national data from the secondary analysis of the AES 2001 can also be compared with information gleaned from the content analysis of government policy documents in order to highlight any consistencies, tensions or contradictions. This is the strength of methodological triangulation and the combination of research methods.

On the basis of my experience in social housing I would expect to find that people in public housing are culturally, economically and politically 'constrained' by their education, income and status which will be reflected in different understanding of Marshall's (1950) civil, political and social elements of citizenship. However, I would expect their sense of membership and security in their local community to be as strong as people in ownership tenures and probably stronger than people in private rental housing. The findings from the analysis of the telephone interviews will be discussed in chapters six and seven, while the secondary analysis of the national survey data will be detailed next, in chapter five.

## **Chapter Five**

### **Housing Tenure and Civic Engagement**

#### **Introduction**

In the preceding chapters I showed that citizenship can be understood in terms of distinct political perspectives or thought styles. I posed the question, what if citizens in different housing tenures understood and experienced their citizenship rights and duties in different ways? How would any differentiation in citizenship understanding across housing tenures impact on the citizen's sense of membership and ability to participate in the local and national community?

In this chapter I examine a neglected aspect of housing tenure - its relationship to citizenship and civic engagement in Australia. Homeownership has been a major feature of Australia's political economy over the last century. As Troy (2000) noted in his review of Coalition housing policy, from the Menzies years onwards there has been a constant political image of Australia as a 'home owning democracy'. Given the high level of homeownership over the past fifty years such claims have an empirical basis.

According to Troy (2000, 736) "Menzies lauded notions of security, continuity, predictability and community". While Troy's claims are not controversial, Howard's (1999) suggestion that homeownership is an expression of 'social citizenship' and 'civic engagement', which can 'deepen' the quality of community have not been tested (cited

in Troy 2000), and is an important point of departure for this chapter. However, there are tensions between notions of private property 'ownership' and 'civic engagement' (Lundqvist 1999). As many social commentators have noted there are contradictions at play between the capitalist acquisition and ownership of property and the communal membership and notions of participation associated with citizenship and civic duty (e.g. Marshall 1973; Giddens 1982; Barbalet 1988; Turner 1993).

This chapter will focus on three empirically accessible issues. The first involves the civic implications of four different housing tenures, or what Turner (1993) and Troy (2000, 736) refer to as the level of 'citizen competence'; the second is the 'tension' between (home) ownership and citizenship; and the third is the relationship between citizenship and four aspects of civic engagement. While there is some evidence linking home ownership with increased levels of civic and communal participation in Britain (Saunders 1990; 1993) the situation in Australia may be different.

To examine aspects of citizenship through the lens of different housing tenures, including homeownership, I use quantitative research techniques to inform the interpretive analysis. The quantitative analysis allows me to estimate the relations mentioned above using national survey data, and therefore to make some inferential claims about housing tenure, citizenship and civic engagement in Australia. The quantitative analysis serves as a springboard for the interpretive analysis in chapter six. The quantitative analysis is based on data from the 2001 Australian Election Survey

(Bean, McAllister & Gow 2002). The AES data contains not only attitudinal and citizenship questions of interest to political scientists but also a series of questions relating to participation in formal organizations as well as a variety of biographical variables. Therefore, it was possible to assess the variation in active membership and participation in formal organisations by citizens across a variety of housing tenures using the AES 2001 data.

I began by analysing data from the AES 2001 survey to examine the effect of housing tenures on measures of citizenship. While attitudinal questions similar to those in the AES have been used to measure citizenship before (e.g. Jones 1997; Pakulski and Tranter 2000), to my knowledge they have not been used to measure the association between citizenship and housing tenure. Civic engagement, conceptualized here as formal membership in charitable, cultural, sporting and professional organisations is examined in terms of its relationship to the attitudinal citizenship measures, and housing tenure.

Housing tenures in Australia have been investigated in relation to socio-cultural factors, health and life outcomes. For example Mullins and Western (2001) examined the links between housing and nine key socio cultural factors using the survey data drawn from a sample of (N=1347) of South East Queensland households. There were nine 'non housing outcomes': community, crime, poverty, and social exclusion, perceived well-being, anomie, education, health and work force participation. Mullins and Western (2001, 4) found that 'public housing tenants and low income private housing tenants in

receipt of government assistance had the poorest non housing outcomes' except in relation to their sense of 'community'. However, they suggest that the "presence of a strong community may be the product of disadvantage since this has the effect of concentrating life within the local area" (Mullins and Western 2001, 4). They conclude that 'differences are a product of the characteristics of the people residing in these various forms of tenure, not the buildings themselves'(Mullins 2001, 4).

I commenced the quantitative analysis by presenting a series of univariate and bivariate results tables. For illustrative purposes, frequency distributions are shown to indicate responses to questions relating to the 'importance' of Australian citizenship, and what it means to be 'truly Australian'. These attitudinal measures are then cross-tabulated with housing tenure. The citizenship measures were cross-tabulated with civic participation measured as the level of activity in a variety of clubs and organizations. Housing tenures were also cross tabulated with civic participation measures. However, in order to control for a series of other factors that influence housing tenure, such as age and income. Regression analysis is employed to model civic participation while holding constant the influence of those important correlates of housing tenure.

## **Data**

The Australian Election Survey was drawn using a systematic sample (stratified by states), drawn from the Australian electoral roll and mail out/mail back survey

administration. The response rate was 55% for a sample size of 2010, which is respectable given the method of administration. The AES data were obtained from the Australian Social Sciences Data Archive at the Australian National University.

Regression analysis was used to predict the importance of citizenship on the basis of housing tenure due to the structure of the dependent variables. The dependent variable – to be ‘truly Australian’ you have to be an Australian citizen was modelled in binary terms (i.e. important to be a citizen vs. not important, with other responses omitted). The aim here was to predict participation in four types of organisations, which were dichotomised to model ‘active’ members versus non-members. While dichotomizing these variables by omitting ‘inactive members’, (see Table 5.4 below) resulted in fewer cases for analysis, the focus here was on participation. Therefore, it was decided to contrast ‘active’ members with non-members. The AES 2001 data were analysed with SPSS version 11.5.

I included key control variables in all regression models, a dummy variable to control for gendered differences in citizenship and civic participation (i.e. men versus women), birth cohort measures to detect any generational effects, and also included tertiary education and high income (\$70,000+) as control variables. The controls were important, as they were correlates of homeownership (Tranter and White 2001), and needed to be included in the regression models in order to estimate the ‘net’ effect of housing tenure on the dependent variables. As the dependent variables were all

dichotomous, and as I wished to explore relationships between them and several independent variables in a multivariate approach, an appropriate analytic strategy was to use logistic regression analysis (Long 1997). Odds ratios were presented in several tables in order to facilitate interpretation of the regression estimates. The interpretation of the ratios is discussed below.

I operationalised civic engagement from the following question in the AES 2001: 'Are you an active member of any of the following voluntary organizations, an inactive member or not a member?' The AES 2001 listed four types of organisation: sport or recreational; art, music or educational; professional; and charitable. Professional organisations were included in the analyses, although it is acknowledged that this type of activity overlaps to an extent with trade union membership and therefore will involve other 'dynamics', for example economic issues, in addition to civic engagement.

## **Analysis**

The AES 2001 data suggests that Australians identify citizenship as a significant part of 'being truly' Australian (Table 5.1). Over 89% of respondents regarded citizenship as an 'important' part of being 'truly Australian'. The responses indicate that 'citizenship' has an established meaning in the Australian consciousness, even though the concept may appear under utilized (Civics Experts Group 1994), 'cloudy' or undefined (Chesterman and Galligan 1999). The in-depth telephone interviews reported on in Chapter 6

identify these meanings and explain why citizenship is considered 'important', for example because it is related to peoples' rights and privileges as members of the nation state.

Active membership in civil society is recognised as a key indicator of citizenship (Putnam 2000). Homeownership is also mobilised by theorists such as Saunders (1993, 88) to indicate 'active' membership in the nation state. By cross tabulating different housing tenures with 'active' membership in a range of formal organisations I highlighted housing tenure trends and participation patterns in the survey data prior to undertaking qualitative research.

Australians appear tolerant as Table 5.1 below demonstrates, with 42% of those surveyed suggesting that 'you don't have to be born in Australia to be truly Australian'. Most Australians surveyed (67%) also recognize that you 'don't have to be Christian to be considered truly Australian'. However 89% of respondents indicated that 'to be truly Australian you have to have Australian citizenship', while over 90% claimed that you have to 'feel Australian' in order to be truly Australian. The ability to speak English was also an important aspect of being truly Australian for 90% of respondents. Finally, country of birth was seen as far less important for what it means to be Australian than identifying with the country and making a commitment to Australia by taking up formal citizenship, with only 32% claiming that place of birth was very important.



Table 5.1: Attitudinal Measures of Citizenship (per cent)

	Born in Australia	Australian Citizen	Lived in Australia	Speak English	Being Christian	Respect Australian Laws	Feel Australian
Very Important	32.2	56.3	30.4	62.1	16.2	60.6	64.3
Fairly Important	25.5	32.9	37.9	28.7	16.5	31.9	26.4
Not Very Important	29.9	8.6	25.5	7.1	30.7	5.5	6.9
Not important at all	12.4	2.2	6.2	2.1	36.6	2.0	2.4
N	(1958)	(1950)	(1941)	(1958)	(1947)	(1956)	(1975)

Source: Australian Election Study 2001

In Table 5.2 below I examined the influence of housing tenures on citizenship. To do this I developed a scale to measure citizenship from the attitudinal variables following Jones (1997). That is, I used principal components analysis to examine dimensionality in the variables, to assess if these indicators (questions) are tapping an underlying latent variable. The hypothesis here was that two scales should emerge, one tapping a citizen

or civic dimension, and another a 'nativist' or 'ethnic' dimension (see Jones 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000). Jones (1996, 5) argues that "immigrants would be less likely to endorse a view of Australian identity that required Australian birth or long Australian residence", which he termed 'nativism', and suggested that they might be more inclined to opt for a more open concept based on an affective civic culture, which is related to a 'feeling' of being Australian and a 'commitment' to Australian laws and institutions.

The results of the principal components analysis presented in Table 5.2 suggest that this is the case with responses to the AES 2001. Of the seven variables available in the AES measuring attitudes on what it means to be truly Australian, three load clearly on the first factor (i.e. born in Australia; live in Australia most of one's life; being Christian), and three on the second factor (respect for Australian laws; feeling Australian; being an Australian citizen). The 'speak English' question cross loads almost equally on both factors, while the Australian citizenship also cross loads to an extent, but loads more clearly on the 'Civic' factor.

**Table 5.2: Principal Components Analysis of Attitudes toward being ‘Truly Australian’ (factor loadings)**

To be truly Australian must ...	‘Nativist’ Factor	‘Civic’ Factor
Be born in Australia	.85	-.01
Have Australian citizenship	.41	.56
Have live in Australia most of one’s life	.82	.16
Speak English	.50	.52
Be a Christian	.61	.13
Respect Australian laws and institutions	-.01	.80
Feel Australian	.06	.76
% of variance explained	39.3	18.0

Notes: Extraction method used was principal components analysis with varimax rotation, producing two factors with values greater than 1.

Source: Australian Election Study 2001.

The factor analysis suggests that two scales may be constructed from the attitudinal variables to measure different aspects of Australian citizenship. Subsequent testing of the reliability of these scales indicated that the optimal scale for the variables loading on factor one would comprise of the variables that measure being born in Australia, and living in Australia most of one’s life (Cronbach’s Alpha = 0.74). The second scale was

less reliable variables comprising respect for Australian laws, feeling Australian, being a citizen, and speaking English (Alpha 0.67). Having constructed two scales to measure these different dimensions of Australian citizenship, they were used to assess the relationship between housing tenure and citizenship in Australia. Initially, I did this by presenting the mean scores for the two-attitudinal scales by categories of housing tenure (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3: Australian Citizenship and Housing Tenure (means).

	'Civic' Scale	'Nativist' Scale
<b>Housing Tenure</b>		
Own home outright	85.2	63.6
Mortgaging home	82.3	58.4
Renting from private Landlord	82.2	59.6
Renting from public housing authority	81.0	67.7
Other (e. g. boarding, living at home)	78.9	61.8
<b>Eta squared</b>	.02	.01
<b>Significance of F Test between Groups &lt;</b>	<.000	.003
<b>Mean for full sample</b>	83.1	61.6

Source: Australian Election Study 2001

First, it is apparent that the overall mean scores for the entire sample of respondents to the AES 2001 are much higher for the 'civic' measure compared to the 'nativist'

measure. This indicates that most Australian adults tend to view the citizen dimension as more important for being 'truly Australian' than the nativist dimension. As Jones (1996, 5) noted, these "dimensions emphasis different aspects of contemporary Australian identity, and are not totally opposed to each other". In contrast to Jones (1996) who used responses to the importance of being a citizen only as a 'behavioural indicator', along with English language competence, I have used the term 'civic' to cover a cluster of responses in relation to the practice of Australian citizenship.

The relationship with 'citizenship' tends to decrease in an almost linear manner over the four housing tenure categories, from owning a home outright through to the renting from public housing. Homeowners exhibit somewhat higher mean scores than the mortgage and renter categories, and there is a further drop to the 'other' category.<sup>1</sup> This suggests that homeowners as a group exhibit stronger feelings of being Australian and view respect for the law and institutions as important aspects of membership in the community. On the 'nativist' scale, owners also score higher than those with a mortgage or in private rental accommodation; however, public housing tenants are most likely of all housing tenures to see 'nativist' aspects of identity as important. This implies that public housing tenants emphasize place of birth and length of residence in the country as important aspects of being Australian and as a strong basis for membership in the community. The public housing responses lend support to Jones (1996, 6) finding that people who see 'nativism as an important element of national identity' tend to have

minimal levels of education. It is necessary to control for education as this factor may also influence public housing results.

Pakulski and Tranter (2000) identify education as an important factor in terms of their work on Australian civic and national identity. They contrast the 'civic' focus on 'voluntary ties', social inter-dependence and shared commitment to institutions with the 'nationalists' emphasis on 'primordial ties' acquired by birth and residence. They found that the nationalist identity, (the equivalent of the 'nativist'), adopts the language of conservatives and popular intervention, whereas the civic identity type (or citizen) promotes a more open and inclusive image of national association. In terms of social characteristics nationalists were older, religious and educated below tertiary level, while the 'civic' types tended to be more educated, especially to a tertiary level and more secular in their outlook (Pakulski and Tranter 2000, 6).

### **Citizenship and Civic Involvement**

In the next section, I examine the association between citizenship and civic engagement by considering the mean scores for the two scales (civic and nativism) for the categories of the community engagement variables – sporting/recreation organizations, art/music and educational organizations ('culture'), charitable organizations, and professional organizations (Table 5.4).

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<sup>1</sup> The 'other' housing category was included in the questionnaire by the AES investigators, and although it

Table 5.4: Citizenship and Community Engagement (Mean scores)

	Sporting	Cultural	Charity	Professional
<b>Civic scale</b>				
Active	82.4	82.8	83.0	82.9
Non-member	83.0	83.4	83.6	81.5
Eta squared	.000	.000	.000	.001
F Test p value	.519	.693	.572	.336
<b>Nativist scale</b>				
Active	61.8	62.3	62.5	63.3
Non-member	60.1	55.2	56.5	51.0
Eta squared	.001	.006	.006	.019
F Test p value	.304	.002	.002	.000

Source: Australian Election Study 2001.

The associations between these variables are all weak, particularly so for the civic scale measure. The differences in mean scores for all of the measures of community involvement and the civic scale are very small, and based on the statistical tests, none of

of far less useful on the conceptual level for these analyses, it is worthwhile reporting.

them are likely to hold in the population of Australian adults, as none of the F tests are significant at the 95% ( $<.05$ ) level. For the nativist measure, cultural, charity and professional organizations are associated significantly. Active members score higher than non-members on the nativist scale across all four indicators of engagement and significantly higher statistically for cultural, charity and professional organisations. This suggests that active members of these particular community based organisations view the 'nativist dimension' of citizenship as more important than the non-members. However, the data does not tell us if this is a cause of active membership or a consequence of it.

### **Housing Tenure and Community Engagement**

In the following regression models, I consider the impact of housing tenure on the four community engagement dependent variables. The odds ratio for each model are presented to show the bivariate impact of housing tenure on community organisation involvement, then they were adjusted to control for sex, birth cohorts, education, income and place of birth. Age was an important control variable in this context as outright homeownership is an asset that takes time to accumulate. Sex and age are readily associated with participation in community based organisations. Controlling for income is important, as participation in sporting and charitable organisations may be limited by access to economic resources, place of birth is important because most recent arrivals in Australia (last five years) live in the private rental sector and (tertiary)



education as an indicator of cultural capital may predict participation in cultural organisations (Putnam 2000). Household type is important because more home owners are families while private renters are singles and couples. Being a family member with all the responsibilities in terms of active membership (i.e. running the kids to sports or clubs) may shape different citizenship outcomes irrespective of tenure (unfortunately the AES data did not allow me to control for household type)..

There were some bivariate associations with the community involvement variables. Public housing tenants were less likely to be active members of sporting groups, cultural and charity groups than outright home owners, while home buyers were less likely than owners to be active in charitable groups. The latter effect for mortgagees remains even after controlling for other factors. However, the public renter effects on participation were not significant when I introduced controls for the cultural and charity organizations. However public housing tenants were still less likely to be active in sporting organizations, which I initially thought, was due to low-income levels, although this is unlikely, because when I controlled for income in the model the effect persists. This could be due to the up front service costs associated with the membership of formal clubs, and do not imply that public tenants were not actively engaged in informal sporting activities. Homeowners and buyers were no more likely to be active members of a sporting club than private renters.

The odds ratio analysis shows that homeowners were more than twice as likely to be active member of arts, educational or music clubs than people in the other housing tenures. Home purchasers were highly likely to be active in professional associations in contrast to people in other housing tenures, although this finding did not persist when I controlled for the influence of other possible confounding factors. Homeowners were more than three times as likely to be active in a charitable organisation than people in 'other' housing tenures. The private rental findings were not significant, suggesting that private renters were no more likely to be engaged in formal clubs and organisations, and lends scant support to Winter's (1999) claim that 40% of private renters were long-term residents who participate in their local community.

Table 5.5: Active membership versus non-membership in Clubs and Organisations<sup>2</sup> (odds ratios)

Model	Sporting		Cultural		Charity		Professional	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Own home outright	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mortgaging home	1.22	1.22	0.70	0.88	0.46**	0.67*	1.72**	1.57
Private rental	0.78	0.74	0.87	0.94	0.87	1.02	0.95	1.13
Public housing	0.25**	0.12**	0.21*	0.31	0.22**	0.37	0.45	0.52
Boarding Living at Home	1.04	0.98	0.46*	0.52	0.30**	0.54	0.86	1.72
Men	-	1.60**	-	0.46**	-	0.84	-	1.46*
Born 1910-1929	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
1930-1945	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	1
1946-1959	-	0.96	-	0.91	-	0.66*	-	1.60
1960-1979	-	1.02	-	0.48*	-	0.44**	-	0.76
1980-1984	-	1.52	-	0.91	-	0.51	-	0.67
Degree		1.18		3.73**		2.44**		6.29*
Income \$70,000+	-	1.16	-	0.96	-	0.93	-	1.96*
Born in Australia	-	1.55**		1.24		1.26		1.61*
r-squared	.02	.06	.02	.11	.05	.08	.02	.22
N	(1565)	(1340)	(1519)	(1306)	(1579)	(1340)	(1423)	(1217)

Source: Australian Election Study 2001.

<sup>2</sup> The full question wording was: 'Are you an active member of any of the following voluntary organisations, an inactive member or not a member? 1. Sport or recreation club? 2. Art, music or educational institution? 3. Professional association? 4. Charitable organization?'

The data from the previous table has been summarised in Table 5.6. The impression gained from analysis of the data was that people in different housing tenures were likely to participate in dissimilar formal organisations. Yet the difficult question of causality remains: why do people in the different housing tenures participate in different associations and clubs? Mullins and Western (2001, 4) suggest that the differences are ‘a product of the characteristics of the people residing in these various forms of tenure’ not of the different tenures themselves. And do the answers provided by Putnam (2000) for the USA, such as new forms of formal association, the internet, the role of urban sprawl and increased amount of time spent travelling from work to the suburbs, carry any weight in Australia?

**Table 5.6: Tenure by membership in formal associations**

	Collective	Personal
Owner	Charitable	Work
Renter	Not Sport	Not Union

The two by two typology (above) suggests that home owners and buyers are more likely to be members of formal civic organisations undertaking charitable or professional work than people in other housing tenures. However there is a striking difference between

homeowners who are engaged with the community in charitable work and homebuyers who are focused on individual economic activities and the pursuit of capital acquisition that challenge Howard's (1999) claims and findings in the UK (Saunders 1990), which do not differentiate between homeowners and buyers. Age may be a significant factor here, for example homeowners may have retired and have more free time and desire to return something to the community by participation in charitable organisations than homebuyers who are active in the workforce. Buyers are more likely to be active in professional associations than people in any other housing tenure. This may reflect their position in the workforce, a desire to improve their occupational status and pay off the mortgage, or indicate an individualistic stage in the lifecycle. Another possible explanation is that homebuyers tend to focus on material issues, financial security and 'private' pursuits such as family formation rather than community engagement (see Kemeny 1981)

In contrast to homebuyers, tenants in public rental were less likely to be active in formal sporting clubs or charitable organisations than people involved in homeownership tenures. The low income of people in public housing, to which entry is means tested and targeted at the most disadvantaged, may be a significant barrier to their formal membership and participation in a range of organisational activities. Another interesting and unexpected finding was that renters were less likely to be members of trade unions than homeowners, which undermines the liberal expectation of a nation of docile homeowners and lends some support to Winter's notion of a radical homeowner

(1994). Winter (1994) showed that homebuyers were better able to participate in prolonged industrial action, due to their ability to renegotiate mortgage payments with the banks, than private renters who had to make regular rental payments. The participation of renters in a range of informal community and cultural activities were gauged via telephone interviews and will be discussed in chapter 7.

Gender does have significant effects here, and along predictable lines (e.g. Baldock 1998; Putnam 2000), in that men were more likely to be active in sporting clubs and women tend to focus on cultural activities. The active members of formal sporting clubs were more likely to be male, whereas tertiary educated women were more likely to be active members of arts, education or music groups. Although I found certain strains in 'citizen competence', housing tenure had a limited substantive and statistically significant effect on the four participation variables. The different characteristics of people in a variety of housing tenures may also be apparent in relation to their levels and types of civic engagement and voting behaviours.

## **Analysis**

To briefly recap, I sought to address three overlapping research questions in this chapter: what is the relationship between housing tenures (especially homeownership) and citizenship; what is the association between citizenship and civic engagement; and finally whether a variety of housing tenures imply different expressions of 'civic

engagement', to explore whether homeownership is contributing to a strengthening of local community membership and participation or not.

To judge by the lower participation levels in charitable organisations by homebuyers, the link that John Howard (1999) sees between holding an economic 'stake in the country' and a deepening of 'the quality of community life' is open to question. Just as sales of public housing sharpened social divisions between home purchasers and renters in England (Saunders 1990, 1993), so the continuation of the First Home Buyers scheme may deepen rather than alleviate status divisions between home buyers and renters over time. Homebuyers are less likely than homeowners to be engaged in charitable or cultural activities, and the low participation rates of public tenants in formal clubs and organisations indicates there is a risk of entrenching social exclusion rather the development of stronger communities for people residing in public housing estates.

The significance of formal membership in relation to social processes generally and in terms of civic engagement specifically has been examined in terms of 'nativist' (Jones 1996, 1997) and 'nationalistic' (Pakulski and Tranter 2000) forms of association and class resentment (see Barbalet 1993). However, as Lee (1998, 67) argues, when "certain areas and parts of the market become more strongly associated with disadvantage those with choice in the housing system are less likely to move to such areas. As a result the social and income mix in these areas is further eroded". Another consequence is that as owners move out the people who move into the area do so because they are 'desperate'

and willing to live 'anywhere' (Donoghue and Tranter 2005). The purchase and the price of residential property is further influenced by the reputation or 'stigma' associated with a street or suburb. The quality of community life is eroded as long term homeowners move to 'choice' or 'gated' locations and invest in private schools, health and pension plans.

In the next chapter I will develop a fuller picture of the civic and cultural types of participation (both formal and informal) and notions of membership and security experienced by a small sample of Australians living in different housing tenures using findings from the telephone survey data. The telephone interviews provide more detailed information and allow me to 'flesh out' the specific civic and cultural aspects of citizenship identified in the quantitative analysis.



## **Chapter Six**

### **Housing Tenure and Rights**

#### **Introduction**

Citizenship rights were examined through the prism of different housing tenures: homeownership, homepurchase, private rental and social housing. Qualitative data was collected during the course of eighty in-depth telephone interviews undertaken in Tasmania during January and February 2002 and allowed me to take the research further than a pure quantitative study. The analysis of the data shows that Australian citizenship has a variety of meanings, which span different housing tenures.

Citizenship in Australia is generally perceived to have a positive aura due to its polymorph nature. This chapter will explore and analyse the meaning, advantages and disadvantages, benefits and privileges attached to Australian citizenship through the interviews with people in different housing tenures. The obligations, duties and sacrifices that citizens attached to their citizenship will be reviewed. The level of pride, the value and the availability of Australian citizenship will be identified. The characteristics of a 'good' Australian citizen and what are considered to be the most important rights that people enjoy will be analysed and interpreted.

## **The meaning of Australian Citizenship**

Australian citizenship is a contested concept, which is associated with an assortment of ideas and meanings (see Lister 1997). It appeals to feelings of belonging, identity and membership in the national community. In essence, the Australian understanding of citizenship contains a strong sense of freedom, a feeling of acceptance and pride. People claimed that Australia is 'the best country to be born in', because there is 'a lot of freedom', a 'good lifestyle', 'no wars', 'safety' and 'security'. Citizenship is considered important for a variety of reasons but it is also a term that a number of people 'haven't thought much about' or remains undefined (see Chesterman and Galligan 1999). As the following interviews show the meaning of Australian citizenship is multi faceted like the concept of 'community', and implies a common area, levels of interaction and common purpose. The meaning of citizenship is complex because it is understood on different civil, social, cultural and political levels, including: a sense of location, a feeling of belonging, membership and identity, and implied access to particular rights, especially political rights relating to individual freedom.

People understand citizenship in terms of place and identity by stating that "I live here", or 'I was born here'. Australian citizenship is connected with national pride, as it's a 'lovely country', a 'lucky country', which people 'wouldn't leave' because they 'love it' here. Citizenship is an expression of "birthright" or a symbol

of identity, and for most people it is important, even if they haven't actually thought about citizenship and have taken it for granted, like good health. People relate citizenship to a sense of identity, as they feel a 'part' of Australia, part of the country, the society or the culture. They associate citizenship to 'feelings' of membership in the country, national community and feel like 'one of us' (see Dutton 2002). They feel that certain substantive rights and benefits accrue from national membership, such as the right to a variety of freedoms, including freedom of speech, a good standard of living, peace and prosperity (see Chesterman and Galligan 1999).

A small number of respondents had not previously thought about the meaning of citizenship (see Civics Expert Group 1994). On reflection they also spoke in terms of location, identity, membership and a variety of rights, benefits and privileges, especially freedom. Only two people stated that Australian citizenship 'doesn't mean a lot', while an older male felt that '30 years ago it meant something' more. There was a feeling that rapid social and global changes had somehow 'eroded' the value of national citizenship (see Turner 2001). Ian from Glenorchy also felt that 'there are too many foreigners here now' (see Jones 1997, 2000). However, the majority of people expressed a strong allegiance to Australia and were sure that it is the 'best place in the world' to live.

For George, a homeowner in up market Sandy Bay, Australian citizenship was both instrumental and cultural. It meant that you 'legally have an Australian passport', had a 'feeling of belonging' and 'knowledge of the culture'. He related his understanding to the three years he spent 'overseas', which strengthened his sense of belonging in Australia but also gave citizenship an instrumental and legal aspect. John, a tertiary educated homebuyer in inner city South Hobart believed that citizenship indicated 'loyalty to the country' and identifies 'a member of the country'. Whereas Ann a single, thirty year old, tertiary educated, professional journalist renting privately in West Hobart felt that citizenship related to 'feeling secure' and 'having security and freedom' as a citizen of Australia. Ann understood citizenship in terms of her individual rights, such as freedom of speech and laws, which guaranteed security. The lack of tenure security reported by 40% of people in the private rental sector may have contributed to this view of citizenship rights. Doris a mature woman, renting social housing in the northern suburb of Glenorchy had initially 'not thought about citizenship'. On reflection she felt that citizenship means that she was 'born here, lived here all my life and wouldn't want to live anywhere else'. The meaning of citizenship mobilised by several homebuyers made reference to material issues such as wealth, income and a 'good lifestyle' whereas people in other housing tenures did not initially make a connection between citizenship and material or economic issues. Housing circumstances appear to have a bearing on certain aspects of citizens understanding of citizenship.

## **The advantages of Australian Citizenship**

Australians associate citizenship with a wide range of advantages, especially a variety of individual freedoms, safety, security, peace, education, choice and opportunities. People related citizenship to material benefits such as good living conditions, good lifestyle and social security benefits. Australia was perceived to be a 'lucky country' compared to other countries in the region, with 'good government' and a 'welfare system'. People understood the advantages of Australian citizenship by comparing them to England, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, New Zealand, USA and the 'rest of the world'.

There were numerous other advantages of Australian citizenship, which were expressed less vocally, such as voting, the legal system, democracy, good health and housing services, tolerance, multiculturalism and 'no dictatorships'. There was a connection made between Australian citizenship and the 'good environment', which reflected the sense of place embedded in Australian citizenship. Australian citizenship was connected to nature, wilderness, clean water, fresh air, natural beauty, good climate and the 'remoteness' from trouble and war in other parts of the world.

It is interesting to note that few people considered 'equality' to be a main advantage of citizenship. The traditional Australian expression of fairness and egalitarianism, 'a fair go' was not put forward as a main advantage of citizenship. Only one person suggested that 'it's a fair country' and someone else made the point that 'it was not as good as it was'. A mature male in private rental noted that 'women were allowed to show their face' now, but while they 'had rights' and 'don't get treated in a racist way', they were 'not always equal with men'.

Three home owning dual nationals compared the advantages of Australian citizenship with their experience in the United Kingdom (UK) and Greece or their children's experience in the USA. The ability to work and travel in Australia, access 'opportunities' and have an Australian passport were viewed as the main advantages of citizenship. They seemed more strategic and instrumental and less emotional in their views of Australian citizenship than the respondents who described themselves as 'true blue' Australians. Dual nationals displayed a civic rather than a nativist identity and understanding of citizenship (see Jones 1997).

### **The disadvantages of Australian Citizenship**

The main disadvantage of Australian citizenship remained the 'isolation' and the 'tyranny of distance' for 20% of home owners, buyers and private renters when 'travelling overseas' to Europe or 'rest of the world'. The focus being on the flight

time to Europe and America rather than the shorter trip to Asia. Having said this, people also considered the distance from 'trouble spots', such as the Middle East, Afghanistan and Northern Ireland as an advantage in terms of safety from terrorism, war and poverty. Racism, jingoism, the 'treatment of aborigines' and lack of 'job prospects in Tasmania' were also considered by more 'civic' minded citizens to be the main disadvantages associated with Australian citizenship.

It is interesting to note that homeowners and public tenants identified 'few' real disadvantages that they associated with Australian citizenship. A couple of public tenants related the disadvantages that they associated with Australian citizenship not in terms of isolation from the rest of the world but to 'lower living standards' compared to the 1960's and the feeling that the education system was 'dumbing down' the younger generation.. Two other public tenants suggested that 'politicians are out of touch' with the people and 'technology is no help to the poor'. One other young unemployed male in a public housing area said 'I haven't put citizenship to the test yet'. Social housing tenants did not regard the 'distance' to Europe or America as a disadvantage, probably due to a lack of resources that would enable them to travel outside of Australia. Only three public tenants were in paid employment and all three tenants only had part time work.

In contrast to public tenants the disadvantages associated with Australian citizenship identified by homeowners related more to instrumental and legal

issues such as international travel and 'the cost of overseas travel', having to 'queue to get into the UK', rather than lower living and educational standards. The decline of moral sentiments and standards was also cited as a disadvantage of Australian citizenship because 'other' people had 'forgotten about religion', contemplated 'suicide' and young people 'lacked consideration' for older citizens. Homeowners wanted 'more law and discipline' and required 'skate boarders and cyclists to get off the pavement'. Homeowners were strong advocates of the 'rule of law' (Marshall 1950) and did not focus primarily on abstract or conceptual aspects of citizenship as predicted in chapter 1.

Private renters and home purchasers associated sporting and material disadvantages with Australian citizenship. The disadvantages ranged from 'too much sport' and 'I don't like cricket', (which resonates with the findings in Chapter 5) to socio economic issues regarding a perceived 'unfair distribution of jobs and services', concerns about welfare robbing and 'easy access to government money', and not being able to 'work in the European Union' due to visa restrictions. One male homebuyer was very concerned about the 'problem of public housing location' that would impact negatively on crime levels and property prices. His attitude to public housing tenants was reflected by the expression 'not in my back yard mate'.



## **The benefits and privileges of Citizenship**

The benefits and privileges of Australian citizenship were expressed primarily in terms of civil and legal rights. Civil rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, mind and choice, and general legal rights were the main benefits readily associated with citizenship. There was a tendency to compare freedom in Australia with the situation in other countries and a perception that Australians 'have more freedom than people in other countries'.

Good public services such as 'social security', 'Medicare' (the national public health payment system), the 'medical and health system', 'welfare support', and 'access to education' were identified as important social benefits of citizenship. Political rights, such as voting, democracy, 'no civil wars', 'stable government' and 'no dictatorship' were mentioned after civil and social rights. Homeowners and buyers frequently mentioned economic benefits, such as the ability to 'participate in the economy', enjoy a 'high standard of living', gain work and access other material opportunities. Environmental and lifestyle benefits, like 'open spaces' and 'good beaches', were identified by private renters and homebuyers as other benefits they associated with Australian citizenship.

Surprisingly, only one private renter and one public tenant mentioned 'equality' as a benefit of citizenship in Australia. It is important to note that freedom rather than equality was considered by citizens in all tenures, but especially homeowners and buyers, to be the main benefit of Australian citizenship. The 'freedom' associated perhaps with the legal rights, financial capacity and market based opportunities to make a choice. The claim that the spread of citizenship 'enlarges the realm of equality' (see Janowitz 1980, 1) and promotes equality (see Marshall 1950) was not apparently shared by the people who were interviewed.

People tended to contrast the privileges of citizenship in Australia with a perceived lack of privileges in other countries. A public housing tenant Dennis suggested that people were 'more privileged here than in other places in the world'. Lisa, who is renting in the private sector, felt that Australian citizenship had 'something to offer' and definitely 'beats being a Kiwi'. While Terry, who was buying his own home, was 'not sad about the past' and said 'Australia is a good country' with 'no major problems', in which citizens enjoy 'more advantages than other countries'. Alan, a homeowner, associated 'fairly decent politicians' with the privileges of Australia citizenship and he qualified that remark by saying that politicians here were 'better than in Zimbabwe', because you can still get a 'fair go' and were 'part of a multicultural country'. Alan also believed there was 'no physical reason for poverty' in Australia when citizens 'uphold the law'. The civic and cultural elements of Australian citizenship appeared to be interwoven with national pride.

During discussion of the benefits associated with Australian citizenship it became apparent they were perceived to have as much to do with material and lifestyle issues as Marshall's (1950, 1973) civil, political and social elements of citizenship. Citizenship was intended to promote loyalty and membership rather than lifestyle and material choices. Australian citizenship was related to economic, cultural and environmental dimensions which 'extend' Marshall's (1973) three elements. Citizenship status was not intended to be an indicator of lifestyle issues, but it was associated with material benefits and certain political interests (see Mannheim 1971).

### **The obligations and duties of Citizenship**

Australians identify a variety of obligations that they associate with citizenship. The main obligations include the need to obey, uphold and 'abide by the law', in other words 'do the right thing', 'vote', 'care for the needy', 'care for' or 'support the environment', 'contribute to society', and 'not be a burden on society'. Almost 30% of the renters interviewed felt there were 'no obligations' or 'nothing really' that they associated with citizenship duties; they had limited understanding of civic duty or obligation (see Janowitz 1980).

People across all tenures highlighted political and civil duties including 'voting', 'fighting for', 'protecting', and a willingness to 'defend the country' and 'obey the law' as the primary duties they associated with being a citizen. A public tenant suggested it was a citizen's duty to 'lead a Christian life' and 'look after people'. Whereas, two private renters associated duty with the need to 'fight for their rights', two homebuyers viewed their duty in terms of being 'patriotic' and the need to 'maximise democracy'. Homeowners strongly associated duty with 'abiding by the law' and 'voting'. They also suggested playing sport, tolerance, a fair go and supporting multiculturalism as obligations, which indicates a well developed civic understanding of citizenship.

Respect for politicians, who citizens 'pay and keep', the government and the police force were not readily associated with any civic duties. Surprisingly, only one person a homebuyer raised the issue of disloyalty and 'not doing anything against the country' (see Walzer 1970). While the need to get a job, be 'friendly to overseas visitors' and 'love Australia' were cited as 'important'. Dual nationals made no mention to the oath of allegiance to the Queen and loyalty to the country. A mature English woman said she felt 'no different' now that she was a citizen of Australia, which may help to explain why 900,000 permanent residents have not become Australian citizens (Jupp 1996). Surprisingly there was no reference to jury duty, the payment of tax or military service in terms of the duties associated with citizenship. Perhaps people view these collective obligations as individual

penalties rather than duties associated with the common good. It could be argued that citizens have internalised the legal compulsion to perform certain duties, such as voting and obeying the law but have externalised other such as jury duty because they are more of an onerous obligation. This suggests that the content of citizenship, and what Turner (1993) calls the 'competence' of citizens, varies according to individual emphasis on particular rights rather than the rights and duties of citizenship.

## **Sacrifice**

The majority of Australians (75%) indicated that there were few sacrifices they would have to make by being a citizen. Australia was considered to be a 'safe country' and people associated sacrifice with past wars, for example at Gallipoli and Vietnam, when their 'dad made sacrifices' and the 'boys went off to fight'. Cartledge (2004, 177) argues that the classical hymn by Simonides, 'Go tell the Spartans', to the heroic dead at Thermopylae resonated strongly in the USA with Vietnam and Korean war veterans when it was popularised in novels such as Steven Pressfield's epic the 'Gates of Fire'. However, the expectation that Australia will always be 'safe' and that the 'boys' will go off to fight indicates a 'traditional' gender bias and a belief that someone else will always fight to defend the nation.

Sacrifices tended to be perceived as martial, 'an issue in war' when it would be necessary to 'defend' or 'fight for Australia'. However, only one person who was interviewed said they were willing to make the ultimate sacrifice and die for their country. The 'blood' sacrifice was only implied by the willingness of a wide range of people to fight to 'defend' the country, rather than any explicit recognition of the possible consequences of defending or fighting for the nation state. Horace's classical notion 'dulce et decorum est pro patria mori' (it is fitting and proper to die for your country) no longer seems to inspire potential citizen soldiers. The 'horror' of war has become apparent and available via global news networks, which project images of death and destruction beyond the capacity of war poets like Wilfred Owen (1994, 24).

A tertiary educated artist living in Glebe near the Central Business District (CBD) of Hobart in private rental was ready to 'go to jail' as a 'sacrifice' to support environmental issues but he was not willing to fight in an 'unjust' or 'politically motivated war'. Environmental issues have increasingly become an area for social action by post materialist 'green' activists concerned about the health of the planet and the collective good (Pakulski 1991: Inglehart 1990). In material terms, paying tax was proposed as a contemporary image of sacrifice, the financial pound of flesh paid to government rather than a blood offering associated with being an Australian citizen. Homeowners and buyers regarded 'buying goods from overseas' and the 'cost of international airfares' as the sacrifice they made as

citizens. Only public tenants, who are less likely to be in the full time workforce than people in other housing tenures, did not regard the payment of tax as a sacrifice. 95% of public tenants felt there were few if any sacrifices associated with Australian citizenship because 'it is a good country'.

In contrast to public tenants 35% of homeowners identified a range of material and martial sacrifices, which they associated with being a citizen. Individuals from a variety of tenures also identified personal sacrifices they had made for their family, 'looking after mum when she was ill', as a wife helping her husband in the sawmill, and one woman regretted the amount of 'lost time' not spent with her children due to the time spent at work. One private renter with a cultural rather than a civic perspective of citizenship regarded 'tolerance' of other as a sacrifice rather than a responsibility of citizenship.

### **Proud to be an Australian citizen**

People placed a high value on Australian citizenship. In fact, respondents especially those who were 'born here', were very proud to be Australian citizens. There were a wide variety of things, which made people feel proud to be an Australian citizen. People across all housing tenures were proud of the 'freedom', the good lifestyle' they enjoyed, the helping 'caring tradition' and the

'environment'. People were also proud of the 'sporting achievements', 'political system', 'safety', 'and the education and health services'.

Public tenants were very proud to be Australian citizens. They cited 'help to the disadvantaged' rather than sporting heroes, 'except maybe Bradman' as something that made them feel proud. Both public tenants and homeowners expressed pride in the nation's scientists, while two homebuyers and private renters regarded consumer products and work place productivity as a cause for pride. Australian citizens were certainly proud to live in what they still regarded as a 'lucky country' compared too other places in the world (see Horne 1964). Australian citizenship was also viewed as an advantage when 'travelling overseas', however these interviews were undertaken prior to the 2003 war in Iraq and attitudes may have changed. As mentioned previously, the egalitarian notions of 'equality' and 'fairness' appear to have been replaced by an emphasis on liberal virtues like 'freedom' and 'helping'. One possible interpretation of this value change in the Australian ethos is the increasing influence of American (global) material, political and symbolic exchanges (see Waters 1995), which stress individual freedom and market based solutions. It may also indicate a decline in the penetration of traditional British class based values and relationships in Australia (see Pakulski and Waters 1996).



Dual nationals and the tertiary educated generally expressed a more international or 'cosmopolitan' outlook and distaste for nationalistic views. The five dual nationals compared Australian citizenship to their British or European experience of citizenship. A British dual national and private renter said she 'felt no different now', whereas an older male homeowner said he felt it was 'natural' to be a citizen as he has lived in Australia for 37 years and all his family lived here now. The amount of time that people spent in Australia was evidently a crucial factor in the development of a sense of belonging and identification with a nation state.

It was evident that citizen's level of educational achievement and place of birth were important factors in determining their understanding of citizenship. A tertiary educated, male sculptor living in private rental in Glebe did not feel 'proud' to be an Australian citizen. He regarded himself as 'lucky' to have been born in Australia rather than in Africa but he did not 'believe in national pride'. A female homeowner living in the Glenorchy area, who was a dual citizen, was also not proud to be an Australian citizen because she felt that 'nobody seems to recognise I am a citizen, because I have an accent I am a foreigner'. This reflects the cultural emphasis a proportion of people place on Australian citizenship. For British dual nationals 'nothing had changed', they have 'no complaints' and felt 'natural being a citizen when you live here' but they did not feel the same level of emotional attachment 'claimed' by native born citizens.

## Not proud to be an Australian citizen

A quarter of the people interviewed indicated that there were things that they were not proud of as Australian citizens, including the treatment of 'migrants', 'refugees', 'asylum seekers' or the 'treatment of aborigines' and 'injustice to aboriginals in the past'. Politicians were reproached for immigration policies and detention centres. People in all housing tenures except public housing singled out the Commonwealth government, the Prime Minister John Howard and Ms. Pauline Hanson for strong criticism. There was concern among people in all housing tenures about 'racism' and Australia's 'reputation overseas' due to the treatment of refugees. However, one public tenant was concerned regarding the number of 'migrants coming' in to the country and about the treatment of those migrants in Australia. A female homebuyer and part time fish processor regarded "detention centres as a waste of time." She suggested that the Government should 'send them back to where they come from' and 'do more for proper Aborigines in the outback and not those in the city'. The view that indigenous Australians were somehow more 'real' and deserving of assistance when they lived in the 'outback' rather than in the suburbs suggests a degree of prejudice and lack of knowledge concerning the high rates of urbanisation in Australia (see Greig 1995).

A perceived 'lack of law and order' was an issue that a number of people were not proud of as citizens. Homeowners were alarmed by the amount of 'lawlessness

and drugs' in the community, while homebuyers highlighted the issue of 'degraded behaviour' due to alcohol abuse. Private renters saw the issue of law and order in terms of 'yobbos' and 'vandalism' and public tenants identified 'nasty people' and 'ratbags' in their local community who made life difficult for the majority who were law abiding citizens (see MacIntyre 1996). The charismatic image of the irreverent, rowdy, young Australian or 'larrikin' appears to have lost a great deal of ground in the current 'law and order' debate.

It is something of a paradox that the twenty public housing tenants who participated in the telephone survey all felt proud to be Australian citizens but they could also produce a list of things they were not proud of as Australian citizens. Inconsistency in behaviour was explained by Marshall (1973, 121) who noted that 'social behaviour is not governed by logic...apparent inconsistencies are in fact a source of stability, achieved through a compromise which is not dictated by logic'. Public tenants were not proud of the health services, the treatment of refugees and 'migrants'. They wanted more public information and felt that Australia 'could do a better job' (see Mullins and Western 2001). Homeowners were also not proud of health services, and three expressed concern about the environment and 'the way we chop down trees'. Here is evidence regarding the penetration of environmental concerns into all 'domains of life' (see Pakulski 1991, 176). The link to green politics and ecological citizenship has already been made by Lister (1997, 23) in the UK.

## The value of Citizenship

When I asked citizens about the value 'other' Australians place on citizenship there were a variety of responses. The general feeling was that Australians 'value it' and some people 'value it highly'. Other people were perceived to be 'proud of it' while a minority probably 'do not value it enough' or 'take it for granted'. The diversity of responses regarding the value 'other' people place on citizenship was 'explained' by a private renter who told me that 'everyone has their own opinion'. He believed that 'migrants appreciate it much more; especially refugees' because they achieved a more secure status. This claim did not appear to hold true for the British dual nationals in the study who claimed to 'feel no different' and were 'not really proud' of their Australian citizenship.

The value of Australian citizenship was yet again compared positively to the situation in other countries especially America and England, and occasionally to more 'dangerous' locations like Africa and South America, or New York after September 11. Australia was considered to be 'lucky' as it had avoided the worse excesses of 'American flag waving' and people enjoyed 'domestic peace' and feelings of 'relative safety'. Participants believed that their fellow citizens were 'glad to live here' but felt they should be 'more patriotic' and 'appreciate it more' because Australian citizenship was 'important', which contradicts the findings of

the Civics Expert Group (1994). Australians recognise that citizenship is important even though they may seem unsure about its meaning.

### **Citizenship should be more valued**

Australians think that their fellow citizens should place more value on their citizenship, especially those people 'who take it for granted', but they did not 'want to end up like America' singing patriotic songs. People who suggested that the value of citizenship was 'ok as it is' also felt that it was a good idea to increase 'other' people's appreciation of Australian citizenship. 'Education' and teaching civics, history or politics in school were commonly suggested as ways to increase the appreciation of citizenship across all four housing tenures, which lends support to the recommendations of the Civics Expert Group (1994).

There were common responses to this question and a few unique responses across the different housing tenures. People in all four housing tenures found it difficult to identify an example of how to increase the appreciation of Australian citizenship and said they 'don't know' how to do it. An assertive male in private rental did not feel it was his duty to identify ways to promote citizenship and plainly stated 'that it's not my job mate'. A public tenant and one homebuyer felt that 'other' people should know the words to the national anthem. While a 'nativistic' Australian in private rental wanted to raise awareness by 'sending boat people back where they

come from, as we are paying for it'. A more civic minded homeowner wanted to 'show people the refugee camps' in order to promote more tolerance and appreciation of Australian citizenship.

Public tenants said it was important to 'talk up the positives' of citizenship and suggested sending people 'somewhere else, to see how good Australia is', as this would 'make people more aware of the lifestyle and freedom'. Public tenants also felt that other people should be 'less selfish' and 'take an interest in the land, environment, animals and others'. Civic education in schools and 'educational TV' were suggested by two public tenants as vehicles to raise awareness but just as many public tenants did 'not know' how to increase the appreciation of Australian citizenship. The penetration of satellite or pay television and video was high in public housing areas and was often used to stimulate or occupy pre-school age children (see Donoghue and Tranter 2005).

Three private renters thought that the appreciation of citizenship could be increased if 'we treat everyone as equal' promote 'reconciliation with Aborigines' and widen 'work for the dole' programs. Renters were concerned that the promotion of citizenship as in the USA 'was a bit unhealthy' and suggested that people needed to 'open their eyes and become aware' or else government could develop a 'TV campaign'. A mature dual national, who had retired from the public service and owned her own home, did not think it was necessary to increase the

appreciation of Australian citizenship. She thought it was a 'boring question' and said there was 'no need to make a fuss' about it. Two female homebuyers identified several culturally 'conservative' ways to promote appreciation of Australian citizenship, including showing 'respect for the Queen', 'school children singing the anthem', 'more patriotism' and limits on 'alcohol consumption'. Whereas three male homebuyers claimed that they wanted Australia to 'become a Republic', 'value national identity' and 'value the environment'. However, survey data (see AES 2001) suggests that there are no major differences in gender attitudes towards citizenship in Australia.

Like citizens in other housing tenures homeowners stressed the importance of education and identified ways to increase the appreciation of citizenship in Australia. The most vocal homeowners called for a 'stop to dual citizenship'. They talked of that feeling that 'comes from the heart, soul and mind' and was manifest in a desire to 'raise the flag, like in the USA'. There were also homeowners who felt that Australia did not 'need American flag waving', and related attempts to increase the appreciation of citizenship to 'political indoctrination' and stressed that it was more important to undertake paid 'work' and 'obey the law'. The importance of the rule of law was a reoccurring theme in the interviews and refutes the suggestion in chapter one that it would be buried beneath a list of entitlements and material claims. The use of cultural symbols was also mentioned as a way to promote citizenship, and it was deemed better 'to show the beauty of

the Australian bush' (see Davison 1992) rather than place 'too much emphasis on sport' and flags.

### **All people should become citizens**

People were divided two to one over the need for everyone living in Australia to become a citizen. Attitudes ranged from the majority who accepted people who come to live in Australia becoming citizens, to the strategic selection of 'skilled' migrants, but only if they 'choose' to 'live here permanently'. Homeowners were inclusive and tolerant, as 90% supported access to citizenship whereas only 50% of private renters and 55% homebuyers felt that everyone should become a citizen. Homeowners suggested that people who come to live in Australia should become citizens, especially if they 'make Australia their home'. Public tenants were more inclusive than homebuyers and private renters, as 70% indicated that they were willing to accept 'all people who come to live in Australia' becoming citizens. Only one public tenant felt that the government should only 'bring in skilled workers and taxpayers'. Private renters were evenly split (50-50) between those who were inclusive and would accept 'people who come to live here' and those who felt we had 'enough here now' because 'unemployment is high'. There was a fear that 'people from other countries take jobs' and 'work for less' money than 'native' born Australian citizens.



During the research a British born (medical) doctor and dual national explained why he became an Australian citizen having been a resident here for over 20 years. Brian said he had a nasty experience at Melbourne International Airport when he was returning 'home' to Australia after a trip to England with his family. The immigration official asked him how long he intended to stay and grilled him about his return visa and place of residence. Brian decided to become an Australian citizen to avoid any future 'hassles' and was able to keep his British passport, which allows him to work and travel in the European Union. In sociological terms he saw the immigration official as a coercive power, using the apparatus of the immigration system and the law, to induce him to enter into a specific legal relationship with the state, he decided to become a citizen to avoid further problems with 'gatekeepers' at the airport. As a citizen he would be able to vote and perform jury duty and would not have to undertake military service due to his age. He chose to become a citizen in order to ensure he had legal access to his 'home' and could maintain his ties with his place of birth. For Brian becoming an Australian citizen was an instrumental choice and a matter of 'convenience'.

### **You are born a 'true' Australian citizen**

People do not generally think that you have to be born in Australia to be a 'true' Australian, but migrants were expected to 'assimilate and 'learn our culture'. A minority of respondents, 35% of those living in private rental and 20% of the

homebuyers, stressed the importance of cultural connections and suggested that you had to be born in the country to be a 'true' Australian. Whereas only one public tenant wondered 'who is a real Australian?' She volunteered that she was of Scottish and Irish heritage, which she felt explained her 'temper' and characteristics rather than her nationality. Another public tenant felt that 'aborigines' were the only 'true' Australians because they had been here for tens of thousands of years.

The 'nativistic' private renters and homebuyers, who claimed that you had to be born here to be a 'true' Australian, were either born outside Australia, in England or Central America and felt ambivalent about their citizenship status, or they were females without a tertiary education who were born in Australia. The level of an individual's educational achievement has been identified as an important factor in determining attitudes to citizenship and national identity (see Pakulski and Tranter 2000). One private renter highlighted the difference between civic and nativistic perspectives when he maintained that migrants could become 'good citizens', but it was rather more difficult to become a 'true' Australian if you were not born here (see Jones 1997, 2000).

### **Citizens should speak English**

The interview data supported the AES 2001 findings regarding English usage as the majority (67.5%) suggested that migrants should speak English in order to become an Australian citizen. People felt that migrants 'should try to learn it' or 'make an effort to learn it' as 'it would help' them 'understand the culture' and 'assimilate'. Speaking English was considered an 'advantage' to migrants because it was 'a universal language' and it 'helps people to communicate'.

All twenty public tenants thought that 'it would help' if you spoke English and it 'makes life difficult if you don't'. It was suggested that speaking English somehow 'makes everyone equal' and is 'useful' but should not be 'compulsory' for everyone as it was 'hard for older people to learn', whereas 'young people should' have to learn it. All the private renters stressed the 'benefits' to migrants of learning English and the need for them to 'understand the culture' and 'make an effort' to fit in.

One private rental tenant claimed Australians 'don't want to learn other languages' and 'don't want to speak other languages'. English 'is very important' and you need to 'learn it to work and pay tax'. It was felt by another renter that speaking English 'makes people the same' and migrants could 'still speak their own language' at home. Three quarters of homeowners also suggested that English should be 'mandatory for people' who want to become citizens in the 'Australian melting pot', because 'it makes it easier' for migrants 'to assimilate and it 'prevents

ghettos'. The relegation of foreign language usage from the public to the private or domestic sphere does not suggest any recognition of minority collective cultural rights or a vibrant multicultural citizenship, but rather a desire to integrate immigrant communities into a society which is reluctant to change (see Castles 1997).

### **Who should not become an Australian Citizen?**

The list of people who shouldn't become an Australian citizen was extensive and varied. Criminals (50%) and terrorists (22.5%) were identified as the most undesirable and ineligible people to become Australian citizens across all tenures. Australia's convict heritage was not mobilised to explore or mitigate the situation of foreign criminals. The perception of eighteenth century convicts as victims of oppression or injustice remains strong in Australia (see Tranter and Donoghue 2003). However the growing pride in convict ancestry has not assuaged the image of modern criminals trying to enter Australia 'to escape justice'.

The reaction against 'terrorists' can be understood in terms of terror attacks in America on 11 September 2001. The public awareness of terrorism was magnified in Australia by the attacks in New York and Washington. The destructive images, which were flashed into every household via international media networks, made Australians more aware of 'terror'. A spurious terrorist connection was also made

with asylum seekers and 'boat people' by a government minister during the 2001 Australian Federal election. Public tenants (15%) were less concerned than people in other tenures that terrorists should not become Australian citizens. Why public tenants were less concerned about terrorists becoming citizens is hard to gauge but they may have felt less of a terrorist target than people in other housing tenures.

The rule of law was considered to be a very important factor in deciding who was eligible for citizenship; 'druggies', 'law breakers', 'Mafia' and 'triads' were not welcome. As I have mentioned in chapter two, Marshall (1973) regarded the rule of law as the foundation for the development of modern citizenship and Australians seem to agree. A couple of homeowners were willing to 'judge each case on merit' but they still felt that the current 'immigration system is alright'. Future citizens 'need skills' to provide the 'means to support' themselves and must 'not be anti-Australian'. Most homeowners (75%) were not very radical and would 'prefer English speaking' migrants but 'not Yanks' or the 'very rich' as they 'don't stay here'. The 'real rich' and 'George Bush' should not become Australian citizens as terrorists 'might bomb us'. There is a fear of criminals (50%) rather than terrorists (30%) among homeowners and a belief that the ideal new citizens should be 'good', 'honest' people, who are willing 'to make a contribution'. They should not 'cause trouble', should 'not be dependent on government' and need to 'like

open spaces'. Nobody mentioned the former 'white' Australia policy but the ability to speak English was consistently stressed across all housing tenures.

According to homebuyers the 'undesirable' citizens included 'those who persecute women', 'paedophiles', members of 'Lebanese gangs', known 'trouble makers' and people with no 'health clearance'. Homebuyers indicated that 'these people' were not acceptable as citizens for reasons of 'safety', because they 'break the law', 'won't learn the language' and because we have 'enough criminals here' already. Private renters pictured the 'enemy' or the 'stranger' (see Simmel 1950) in terms of crime and their potential impact on society. There was a common fear of 'organised crime', 'gang members', 'war criminals' and 'murderers'. Renters wanted citizens who would 'be part of the community' and 'put an effort in the workforce' because Australia 'can't let everyone in'. Australia required 'loyalty' and people who 'want to work' and 'become a part of the country'. It 'has enough problems' and it does not 'need to import' any more 'unpleasant people' or 'migrants on the dole'.

Public tenants identified several undesirable 'foreign' types and trouble makers in relation to access to Australian citizenship. It was suggested by a mature 'Christian' woman that 'everyone should have a chance' to become an Australian citizen but 95% of public tenants were more selective and felt the opportunity to become an citizens should not be extended to terrorists, criminals, 'violent people', 'knockers', 'bad ones', 'dickheads', 'troublemakers', and 'Japs and Germans' due to

their 'crimes' during WW2. The reasons why people should not become Australian citizens varied but throw some light on what is important to citizens in public housing. 'Safety' issues, a desire to 'keep the peace', 'protect society' and the claim that we have 'enough criminals here' were frequently mentioned. Three public tenants were 'wary of Middle East and Asian migration' because 'they are different to us'. Two public tenants wanted the government to 'check all people' coming into the country, encourage them 'to join in our way of life' and 'swear allegiance to Australia'. It was felt the reason 'why people come is important' to Australians but one public tenant connected it with One Nation's concern about increasing foreign investment and claimed that 'foreigners have bought the country'. The feeling from public tenants was that migrants were 'ok, if they meet the criteria', however the nature and content of the eligibility criteria was not discussed, and was left to government to determine.

### **The characteristics of a good Australian citizen**

From the 'undesirable' citizen to the characteristics of a good Australian citizen provides an interesting contrast. The main characteristics of a good citizen indicate that Australians view themselves as 'fair', 'helpful', 'honest' and 'good' people. To a lesser degree Australians regard a good citizen to be 'tolerant', 'friendly' and 'easy going'. Tolerance was equated with 'acceptance' and being 'open minded' but was also considered to be a 'sacrifice' by one private renter.

Three property owners focused on legal and economic attributes as characteristics of a good citizen such as 'upholding the law', 'obeying the law' and 'contributing to society'. They suggested that good citizens were 'working', 'paying tax', 'educated' and 'not on the dole'. Renters generally explored the egalitarian nature of 'down to earth' people who were 'willing to have a go', were 'all the same' and 'appreciated Australia'. Dual nationals considered 'good people to be the same everywhere' not just in Australia. In fact one dual national claimed that a good Australian citizen was 'no different to the English'. He also intimated that Australians were 'boasters' when it comes to sporting success, especially in the cricket. Only one person, a female homebuyer, suggested 'mateship' was a characteristic of a good Australian citizen.

### **A good Australian citizen**

A 'good' Australian citizen or role model was equated with exemplary figures that 'serve the community', were 'volunteers' or charismatic leaders. Good citizens 'help others', 'contribute to society', 'have honourable intentions' and 'care for the environment'. Sir William Dean, the former Governor General of Australia, and Pat Rafter the tennis player were both named as good citizens. Property owners thought that Sir William had 'humility' and had 'done a good job' as Governor General. Pat Rafter was widely acknowledged for 'helping others' and due to his



sporting success. However one public tenant was concerned that he was going to be an 'unmarried dad'. Rafter was named Australian of the Year in early 2002 during the time that the telephone interviews were undertaken, and that may have influenced the responses of participants.

Politicians like Gough Whitlam and Bob Brown were regarded as charismatic leaders who were good Australian citizens due to their 'principles' and 'integrity'. Whitlam was heralded as someone 'who changed Australia for the better', while Bob Brown 'cares about the environment'. In contrast one person nominated the business man Dick Smith as a good citizen due to his 'contribution to industry and charity'. People offered a range of unique examples of a good citizen, for example Peter Garret, the former lead singer of the band Midnight Oil, was considered a good citizen for his 'environmental and political activities' by a tertiary educated, female home buyer. A male public tenant named Dr. Victor Chang and scientists in general as good citizens because they worked 'to find a cure for health issues'. A tertiary educated homeowner suggested 'Nugget' Coombs was a good citizen due to his work for aborigines as a Commonwealth public servant. A self-employed mechanic renting his workspace and living on site in semi industrial Derwent Park considered the Prime Minister John Howard a good citizen. However a retired woman in public housing was very disparaging and felt that 'Howard was weak and reminds me of a Jap'.

Of particular interest is the fact that few women in public life were cited as good citizens. When a woman was cited she was only named by a female respondent, this contradicts national survey data (AES 2001) that suggests that there are no apparent gender differences regarding citizenship (see Lister 1997). One homeowner suggested the ex wife of the former Labor leader Hazel Hawke was a good citizen due to her 'voluntary work'. A homebuyer named Cathy Freeman as a good citizen but did not provide a reason apart from her 'sporting success', and that was reason enough for the former Olympic swimmer Dawn Fraser to be named as a good citizen by a public tenant. Another homebuyer 'had to think about it' and then named Ella Purdon as a good citizen 'due to her work with aborigines'. Good citizenship was also related to 'volunteer fire fighters', 'community workers', 'good neighbours', and family members. 'Mums', 'dads' and the 'lady at the local post office' who 'helps others', and 'not just famous people' and 'politicians' or 'sporting heroes'.

### **Most people are good citizens**

A wide range of people thought that most other Australians were good citizens. The percentage of good citizens in Australia ranged from a nervous 'fifty fifty' from one homebuyer, to a confident '80% to 95%' by three public tenants. One public tenant felt that there were 'a few arseholes' in Australia but estimated that 'only 5% are dickheads'. While public tenants believed that most 'Tasmanians are

good', with the exception of 'a few rough heads' they could not vouch for the people on the mainland, which raises the issue of the representative nature of the Tasmanian sample (see de Vaus 1995) used in this research.

Homeowners thought there were 'more drugs' and 'crime today'. They were also 'concerned with violence' and the perception that Australia was becoming more 'like America'. Private renters generally felt that most people were 'reasonable' but they 'need good leadership' to ensure that they 'get the opportunity' to 'follow the law'. There was also a tendency to blame younger people and 'not older ones' for 'trouble' in the community.

### **The most important rights of citizens**

The majority of participants, 80%, said that Australian citizens have 'rights' that were similar 'to other democratic countries'. The most important of these rights were civil and political rights relating to 'freedom', 'freedom of speech', 'freedom of movement' and 'voting'. A range of people across all tenures considered a 'variety of freedoms' important, including freedom of choice and association, freedom to think, freedom of information and religion. Legal rights, social services and the right to feel safe were also considered important by a cross section of people.

People thought the right to health, education, opportunity and welfare services were important. One homebuyer said the right 'to buy a house' was important to her as a citizen because it provided a sense of security. Other homebuyers identified 'security', 'protection', 'heritage', 'political rights' and 'democracy' as important rights, which they have as citizens. Homeowners again emphasised the rule of 'law', and the 'constitution', 'culture', 'employment', 'independence' and 'travel' as important rights. The views of respondents overlapped so that renters corresponded with property owners and home buyers with regard to most of the rights mentioned above but in addition renters also wanted the 'right to be heard' and to 'a fair society'. Two people in private rental felt that they had a 'right to a job' and wanted government to find a solution to unemployment and they expected the state to 'help the sick and unemployed'. Individual public tenants identified 'equality', 'no troubles or wars' and 'no special treatment' for aborigines or migrants as the most important rights of citizens in addition to the universal claim for freedom..

The benefits readily associated with Australian citizenship did not help to explain the reluctance of hundreds of thousands of permanent residents to become citizens (see Davis 1996: Dutton 2002). Brian, a dual citizen, felt that acquiring Australian citizenship could impact negatively on migrants other citizenship status, reduce their sense of freedom and increase the level of 'compulsion' on them to perform duties. The right to vote and perform jury duty for example were compulsory and

enforced by the law. Two dual nationals felt that they could loose more 'freedom' than they gained, and that citizenship duties were an inconvenience to be avoided (see Walzer 1970, 226).

### **Rights are under threat**

Half the respondents felt that their rights and freedoms as citizens were under threat. 'Freedom of speech', 'freedom of thought', 'democracy', 'privacy', the right to a 'free' education, the Australian 'way of life' and culture were all in some way thought to be threatened. People generally felt 'over regulated' because they now 'need a license of everything'. Renters also felt more excluded from the economy, jobs and community. This was a common theme raised by people in rental housing. Marshall's (1993, 117) notion of a 'duty to work' rather than the right to work is applied to 'other' people. As with Simmel's (1950) notion of the 'stranger' it was easy for people to relate problems to the 'other' fellow or forces beyond their control. The 'right to work' was threatened by foreign ownership, industrial laws, foreigners generally and refugees specifically.

The rights of parents were thought to be threatened by governments 'who do not listen' and by the concept and practice of 'political correctness'. Three older public tenants felt excluded from the political process, for example Mary in Warrane who said that:

You don't have a say anymore. Old people are made to retire so their experience and knowledge is not used to help young ones.

Expectations concerning individual rights were high, perhaps even inflated and at times contradictory (see Marshall 1973). For example three homeowners want lower taxes and more freedom but also expect better education and more social services to help the disadvantaged. Homeowners also felt that individual safety was under threat, as George a sixty-year-old from Mornington said:

Compared to years ago things have changed, with less safety everywhere due to crime. Drugs are also a problem and have an impact on individual citizens.

The fear of crime, especially drug related crimes, was frequently mentioned by property owners. At the same time the right to privacy was considered to be under threat due to both 'government and corporate intrusion' and their relentless gathering of information. It was felt that the use of technology provided government and big business with too much access to personal information. One fear was that the use of technology in the collection and processing of information would result in the loss of 'all rights' and 'democracy' rather than better policing.

In contrast, the 50% of people who felt that rights were not threatened or were about right compared Australia favourably with the situation in other countries. They cited the lack of censorship, the availability of alternative viewpoints in the media and the balance provided by newspapers, television, radio and the internet to support their claim. The consolidation of Australian media ownership was not raised or discussed in this section but was noted later.

### **The threat to rights**

Civil liberties, especially individual freedom was considered to be under threat by people in a range of tenures from political, economic and technological agencies, including politicians, the Howard government, conservatives, Banks and lending institutions, migration, 'cheap foreign labour', technology and large corporations (see Barbalet 1988). In rural communities the increased regulation of guns, fishing, cars, pets and boats was viewed as restrictions by an intrusive government that was based in the city. The balancing of citizens needs and rights was highlighted by the debate concerning the licensing of 'guns' that may have promoted a greater sense of safety in the suburbs but was regarded as an attack on individual freedom by people in rural Australia.

A variety of people across all housing tenures identified 'the rich', the concentration of media ownership, the taxation system and 'undemocratic

elements' of the population, such as the large corporations as a threat to civil, political and social rights (see Marshall 1973). These groups represented 'vested interests' that were unaccountable and either had too much power, or wanted to gain more power. These powerful groups were considered a threat to individual freedoms and were thought to prefer more state control and greater regulation of the population.

## **Analysis**

Australians indicated that they were proud to live in what they still regarded as a 'lucky country' compared to other nations in the world. They considered Australian citizenship to be based on the rule of law and a benefit when travelling 'overseas'. However, the traditional Australian notions of equality and fairness ('a fair go') appear to have been relegated behind a range of individual freedoms (see Table 6.1 below). This finding may have been an anomaly due to the small size of the telephone survey sample or the disposition of the Tasmanian respondents, but it also hints at the globalisation of a powerful and symbolic American cultural value, individual freedom (see Waters 1995).



**Figure 6.1: Important citizenship rights by housing tenure**

	Equality	Fairness	Freedom	Other rights
<b>Owner</b>	2 %	2%	42%	54%
<b>Home Buyer</b>	2.5%	2.5%	30%	65%
<b>Private renter</b>	3%	3%	42%	52%
<b>Public tenant</b>	5%	5%	45%	45%

Hobart 2002: Rights calculated as a % of total number of responses in each tenure to the question:

7.2 If we have rights, what do you think are the most important ones?

Analysis of the Hobart census data supports the claim that income and educational levels influence the location of citizens' housing (ABS 2002a). As Barnes and Kaase (1978) suggest, increasing levels of education also appear to result in greater cognitive capacity. The tertiary educated were generally more focused on political rights than non-tertiary educated citizens (see Dalton 1988).

Australians did not appear to differentiate between the Australian society and the state. They strongly identify the society and culture with the nation state, as if the state was part of the 'life-world' (Schutz and Luckmann 1974). This indicates that the state and society were thought to co-exist within a universal framework of location, identity and membership, which approximates with Hegel's (1942) concept of the 'coterminous state'. However, there was an apparent differentiation between the civic and cultural conceptions of citizenship. While Australian people

and the state may appear as a predominantly unitary and homogenous entity, according to Richard White (1992, 23-53) there was evidence of different cultural and civic perspectives regarding the meaning of citizenship and the national identity (see Jones 1997).

The main factors, which influence the every day meanings of citizenship, included a sense of a place apart, a unique identity, cultural membership and civic participation in the national community. The relationship between citizenship and housing tenures was more complex and subtler than anticipated. For example, my working typology initially suggested that there would be clusters of meanings attached to citizenship, which would relate to the location of citizens in different housing tenures, particularly in terms of content; active or passive, and form; public or private. The interviews indicated that there was a common basis for understanding citizenship rights that were shared across all housing tenures, especially in relation to civil, political and social rights like the rule of law, voting and access to education and health. In addition to frequent mention of master concepts like freedom and freedom of speech.

However, individuals in different housing tenures stressed particular rights and aspects of citizenship, which reflected in part their tenure, as well as characteristics relating to age, gender, place of birth, income or level of education. Variations included homebuyers who noted the economic elements of citizenship,

homeowners who stressed the civic aspects, private renters and public tenants who focused on the 'nativistic' components and equality implicit in citizenship. These understandings were additional to the common themes and were fluid which suggests that they are culturally and historically grounded and reflect tensions within liberalism (see Mannheim 1922: Weber 1949: Marshall 1973).

The initial citizenship typology provided a building framework rather than a static typological construction. The tenure-based understandings of citizenship were not mutually exclusive; they overlapped to accommodate the rich variety of images, which were typically shared and multi-dimensional but also exhibited subtle differences. The relationships between the types of tenure based understanding and social characteristics were not strong enough to generalise to the Australian population, due to the limited size of the qualitative study. However, they indicate a potential link between different housing tenures and certain aspects or understandings of Australian citizenship. The nature of these subtle tenure based understandings will be further determined by reference to the practice of citizenship which I examine in the next chapter.

## **Chapter Seven**

### **Housing Tenure and Participation**

#### **Introduction**

International interest in the provision of homeownership to low income families has been growing (Rohe and Stegman 1994). Homeownership is perceived to have positive benefits for people on a low-income in terms of increased levels of self-esteem, perceived control and life satisfaction (Rohe et al, 1994, 173). However, the minority view holds that the aspiration for home-ownership is increasingly unaffordable and unachievable for low income Australians. Kemeny (1983, 117) argues that it is a 'misconception that homeownership is a cheaper and more secure form of tenure than public renting'. This research suggests that both homeowners and public tenants exhibit a strong sense of tenure based security and affordability, unlike private renters who regarded their housing as more insecure and expensive.

Saunders (1990) makes the claim that public housing renters are generally perceived to be less engaged in various forms of civic participation than homeowners. However, if public tenants enjoy higher levels of tenure based security than people in private rental it would be reasonable to expect, all other factors being equal, that their levels of participation in the local community would be equal to or higher than people renting privately. Community participation,

sense of security and membership in the local community being the indicators of citizenship operationalised in this research (see Marshall 1950, 1973; Turner 1993, 2002).

This chapter draws on the qualitative data collected during 80 in-depth telephone interviews to analyse the subtle differences and perceptions of housing rights, housing security, and affordability levels among homeowners, buyers and private and public renters. It will examine the forms of community membership and types of community participation through the lens of different housing tenures. The perceived benefits and disadvantages of participation in the community will be examined. The level and amount of contact with local council, politicians and the media will be identified and discussed.

### **The desire for homeownership among renters**

The starting point for this phase of the research was to try and ascertain the reason why people in rental properties wish to buy their own home, rather than the desire for homeownership being a political tool (Troy 2000). People in private rental (80%) generally indicated that they wanted to 'own their own home' in order to achieve a greater sense of 'security', in order to 'stop paying rent' and to have an asset, which they can pass on to their children. The main barriers to homeownership that were identified were financial, as participants could not

afford to purchase a property, felt that the cost of rates, taxes and maintenance were too high or their age was a barrier. Julie, a young physical education teacher living with her parents in Lindisfarne, summed up the views of private renters:

Renting is dead money. Ownership provides stability and a sense of security. You have something to show for your money and a place of your own.

A sense of stability and security were very important factors for renters planning to start a family. Family formation was another reason given by renters for buying a house, whereas the desire to travel and unemployment would delay or undermine the capacity of renters to purchase a property. Jack, a single twenty-year-old male renting privately in West Hobart and working in the hospitality industry did not want to buy a house (yet) because he planned to travel to Europe; 'I don't want to be tied down to a house or anything'.

However, rising rental charges in the private rental market were an incentive for some renters to buy their own home (see Yates and Wulff 2000). Maria, a childcare worker in Bridgewater, with three children was 'sick of renting. It is cheaper to buy around here. I pay \$440 per month to rent and it would be less to buy'. The average price of a brick and tile, three-bedroom 1970s house in Bridgewater was much lower than in Hobart, approximately \$45,000 (HT 2001). The median monthly housing loan payment in Bridgewater was \$455 compared to \$614 in

Hobart (ABS 2000). The rapid rise in property values after 2001 took people by surprise and by January 2004 the average price of an ex-public housing 3-bedroom property in Bridgewater had more than doubled to \$110.000 (HT 2004).

Affordability 'constraints' (see Yates 2001) were regarded by both public and private renters as a problem and a 'barrier' to achieving home ownership. Phil, a fifty-year-old former truck driver, rented a house on the East Coast of Tasmania in a small rural community. He was married with two children and cared for his wife who was disabled. Phil wanted to buy his home having rented the property all his adult life but he felt that it was beyond his financial means and he was not optimistic about his chances: "If I had the money I would own the house, if I won Tatts Lotto".

Public tenants were divided 60-40 on the issue of home ownership. Some public tenants (40%) cited affordability and other constraints, and said they 'can't afford it' due to unemployment or old age. The perception that public tenants enjoyed greater security of tenure and regular maintenance was used to explain why several tenants said they did not want to buy their 'home'. Joyce was over seventy years old and had lived in a community-housing unit in Lenah Valley for over 10 years. She said "I love it here" and she did not want to buy her home;

I am happy to pay rent. There is not so much responsibility with the maintenance and looking after the property.

Older public tenants did not want the financial responsibility or burden of a mortgage. Florence had rented her public housing property in Rokeby for 21 years. She lived with her husband Bill who had recently retired from driving trucks and they 'live on the aged pension'. They did not want to buy their home:

We tried to buy the house years ago but there was a lot wrong with it. Trees were planted around the house and 'housing' had to get things fixed. We would have to pay for all the maintenance if we bought it.

Older public tenants did not want to 'fall into debt'. They realised that the cost of buying a house involved rates and property maintenance that makes home ownership 'unaffordable' for people on a government pension or benefit. Roger was another public tenant who did not want to buy his home. A retired motor mechanic, he had rented a property in Gagebrook, a large public housing area, with his wife and several dogs for 11 years. He said that "there is too much involved, maintenance, rates and taxes wise. Housing fixes it and paints it out". Roger enjoys some of the major benefits of home ownership, including security of tenure and affordability, without the responsibility of paying rates and undertaking repairs and maintenance. The benefits of public housing to retired



older Australians balanced the aspirations and dreams of home ownership which would often entail moving to live 'in another area'. Like several long-term public housing tenants, Mandy from Rokeby, fatalistically stated that she would buy a house if she won the lottery and "would buy a house in another area". Public tenants regularly articulated the constraints to homeownership in terms of affordability but if money was no longer a barrier there were other cultural issues to overcome, such as changing suburbs and neighbours. In contrast to **some** public tenants who were hoping for a lottery win, George had actively tried to purchase his public housing property under the Tasmanian state government home purchase scheme called 'Streets Ahead'. He had rented a public housing property in Gagebrook for 8 years but was told that he was unable to buy it: 'I was knocked back by the bank because I am unemployed'. He felt disappointed at the time and was unwilling to go through the application process again because he was still unemployed and did not want to fail again.

### **Housing rights and ownership**

The former Australian Prime Minister Bob Menzies (1954) argued that 'one of the best instincts in us is to have one little piece of earth with a house and a garden which is ours...into which no stranger may come against our will'. The ownership of property was considered, across all housing tenures, to be the 'strongest' housing right because it gave people 'a real sense of security'. Ownership, it was

argued provided 'more rights than renting' and meant there were "no real estate agents to deal with" (see Rohe and Stegman 1994). George a homeowner in Mornington summed up the feelings of the majority (85%) of property owners who felt secure:

I have the right to do what I like in my own property, so long as I don't interfere with others or break the law.

A group of male homeowners (15%) appeared to be preoccupied with the 'right to defend their property', the 'protection of their property' and the 'right to exclude people' from their property. Homeowners claimed to have 'no trouble' as the 'neighbours work together' and they felt 'protected by the local council and laws'. The owners of property believed that they had the full legal protection of the state (see Marshall 1950).

Several homeowners suggested that they had 'to work hard for the Australian dream'. For example, Demitri a Greek Australian living in Howrah, east of Hobart, was a retired homeowner with a strong sense of pride in his work history, family and property. He stated that:

This is my own place, I built it, nobody gave it to me, and I had to work for it.

Homeownership was the outcome of a lifetimes work but the perceived benefits of homeownership were balanced by the concerns of homebuyers who were struggling to 'pay the bills', and complained that they had to deal with 'three levels of government' and invest much of their time to 'keep the property the way I want it'. However, the benefits of homeownership definitely outweigh the costs because buyers felt that they enjoyed more privacy, had a 'choice where they live' and had 'more rights than people who are renting'.

It can be inferred from the interviews that people in private rental felt less secure than homeowners or public housing tenants. The majority of private renters (60%) had a lease agreement with the property manager or owner that allows them, as Mick from Derwent Park claimed: "to occupy the premises for the length of time stated in the lease". Not everyone was as fortunate as Mick or Glenda, a young female bus driver from Glenorchy, who had a very positive relationship with her landlord:

I can do whatever I want. I can paint the unit, put up fences and he doesn't put up the rent. I don't have a lease now and feel blessed with my landlord.

People in private rental provided a variety of reasons for renting. For example Max had retired and sold his house. He had been renting privately for seventeen years from a family friend:

I sold my house and moved into something smaller and more manageable due to my age.

Max knew the owner of the rental property and their relationship was built on friendship and trust. His relationship with the property owner was "old and very strong". This meant that he did not feel the need for a lease.

Other private renters felt that they had limited housing rights and felt that those rights only operated when they abided by the conditions of the lease. They felt that they had no rights if they did not abide by the lease agreement. Even good tenants like Joe who rented in Glebe felt insecure about the lease:

I always look after the property and pay the rent but I still don't know if the lease will be renewed.

A sense of insecurity and uncertainty was strong among 40% of private renters. Private renters indicated that they only had rights when they 'pay the rent' and 'keep the place clean and tidy'. They felt that they were in temporary

accommodation rather than a permanent of home, which was only advantageous for mobile young professionals. Ann, a journalist renting in West Hobart, claimed that renting privately allowed her the freedom to move house and suburb:

I come and go as I please and have people to stay. It's easy to move out. As for housing rights we have none really as the landlord comes around when he likes even when I'm not here.

A nomadic rental lifestyle may suit single professional people but the perceived lack of housing rights was unacceptable. Jack, a hospitality worker renting in West Hobart, was 'at war' with the landlord. His housing rights were 'being tested' and he was seeking advice from the Tenants Union. Jack said:

If something breaks you call the real estate and they should fix it, because if you get behind in the rent they will threaten to kick you out.

There was an expectation by renters that repairs and maintenance should be carried out by property owners or agents under the terms of lease agreement and they were frustrated when repairs were not completed. Renters felt powerless in the face of agents and owners who failed to undertake maintenance but still demanded that they continue to pay the rent. Renters could break the lease under

the Tasmanian Residential Tenancy Act 1997 if repairs were not undertaken but they would have to bare the expense of finding alternative rental housing.

Maria, a single mum with three young children living in Bridgewater, which has a large proportion of public housing, provided another insight into the insecurity and inflexibility of the private rental experience. She said:

It is hard if you have a rough patch and get two weeks behind in the rent.

They turn around and say they will kick you out.

Tenants in private rental felt insecure and claimed that they had fewer rights than people who owned, were buying or renting their housing from the government or a community based agency. However, public housing tenants also related their security of tenure to their ability to pay rent and abide by the lease. The difference was that social housing tenants felt that the house 'can't be sold out from under them' as happens in the private rental market, and the rent was affordable.

While half the private renters interviewed had leases that were measured in months the majority of public housing tenants (80%) had a lease lasting years and in 60% of cases the lease had lasted for over a decade (see Winter 1999). Nineteen of the twenty public tenants felt that they had the 'right' to stay in their property permanently and that they had the 'right to complain' if there was a problem with

the property or neighbours. June had been renting a house in Warrane, on the Eastern shore of the River Derwent, from Housing Tasmania for 14 years and felt that she had certain housing rights as a public tenant:

You treat it as your own home, as you pay the rent. You have a say if someone causes trouble or there is a problem and you expect to be treated fairly by Housing Tasmania.

Public tenants expect to be treated in a fairly without the fear or threat of being made homeless. The security of tenure provides public tenants with the stability to make a house into a home. Dianne has lived in public housing, in Gagebrook a broadacre suburb twenty kilometres north of Hobart, for four years. She is divorced, with two children and worked part time as a teacher's aide. In Gagebrook 80% of the housing stock in 2002 was owned and operated by Housing Tasmania, the State Housing Authority (SHA). Dianne did not want to move from her house: 'It is not just a house it is a home. I lived in private rental and it was more insecure.'

Public housing tenants had a strong sense of tenure security unlike people in private rental and understood that there were 'laws and regulations' in relation to their housing and that they could appeal decisions. This is another reference to the rule of law, what Marshall (1973) considered to be the foundation of citizenship.

Public tenants were very aware of the laws governing their tenancy and they perceived a lack of regulation in the private rental sector. As Cathy, who had lived in public housing in Kingston for 12 years, said:

If anyone from 'housing' wants to come around here, they need to get my permission first. I need to be informed of any rent increases so I can check the agreement.

Cathy is aware of her housing rights and expects to be informed of any changes to her lease agreement in a regulated relationship with the public housing provider, Housing Tasmania. Roger, a retired mechanic living in public housing in Gagebrook, said that he 'can't afford to rent privately' because his only source of income was the aged pension. Roger also felt that his housing rights were clearly spelt out in the lease agreement:

The lease is long term and open you know? The lease states what my rights are and what we can do with the house. We have fitted dead locks on the doors and all the windows so no one can get in unless they smash the windows.

The notion of housing security was articulated not just in terms of security of tenure but also in terms of the physical security, personal safety, the type of neighbours and the location of the property. These issues were considered very



important for successful long term tenancies to be achieved and will be discussed later in the chapter.

Although public tenants were generally positive about their relationship with Housing Tasmania there were a few critics of the public housing system. Fred had rented his unit in Rokeby for 12 years and he felt that he had few housing rights:

My unit faces south; it was built facing the wrong way. I pay rent every week, but I am dictated too by those people in Housing Tasmania.

Fred was concerned not only about the location and condition of his property but also about the lack of consultation. He had repeatedly requested that a new carpet and better ventilation be installed in his unit. He felt frustrated that Housing Tasmania had not undertaken the maintenance that he had requested. The level of investment and service demanded by public housing tenants appeared to be much higher than in the private rental market. Public tenant's expectations were generally much higher than those of people in private rental especially in relation to repairs and maintenance.

George, another public tenant in Gagebrook, claimed that Housing Tasmania staff could be difficult to deal with and were liable to make rental issues personal rather

than maintaining a professional manner:

They would not listen to us when we got behind in the rent. We got a counsellor to make a rent arrears repayment agreement with Housing. Steve is a top fella out there but the other woman had a run in with my partner and she was keen to give us the flick.

The resolution of rental disputes between public tenants and Housing Tasmania staff appears to be influenced by the nature of the tenant and worker relationship and their communication skills, as much as service policy and procedures. Older, long-term female tenants were generally more positive about the services provided by Housing Tasmania (HT) than the male tenants. For example, Hanna had rented her property in Chigwell from HT for over 40 years:

When I have a problem they come and fix it straight away. I pay rent and they come and fix it. Nothing is broken and everything is clean when they inspect the property.

There was an indication that older female tenants received a more responsive service from Housing Tasmania staff than male tenants because they maintained their property in a good condition. Joan was also very positive about the services provided by Housing Tasmania. She rented a house in the eastern suburbs in

Rokeby and was very satisfied to receive 'a new stove 2 years ago, as I have been here 21 years'. The fact that the stove lasted almost twenty years suggests that the tenant maintained the appliance in good order and Housing Tasmania experienced a benefit because they did not have to replace it ten years earlier. Both the tenant and provider achieved a good outcome.

Another long term Rokeby resident, called Jane in this research, had rented her property from Housing Tasmania for 20 years. When asked what rights she had in relation to her housing she immediately said:

Privacy that is the main thing. They let you know when they are coming. And we have the right to complain about bad neighbours.

A sense of having housing rights, such as privacy and redress, was very strong amongst public housing tenants, homeowners and homebuyers. Private renters felt more vulnerable, enjoyed less privacy and paid more rent. They felt less able to access or utilise positive housing rights because to do so may have endangered their tenancy and their chance of securing another lease (see King 2003). These issues became more apparent when participants in the research were asked if their housing rights provided them with a secure home and if not, why not?

### **A sense of security**

The majority of public housing tenants (95%) and homeowners (85%) claimed that their housing rights provided them with a 'secure home'. For homeowners their feelings of security were due to their sense of ownership (45%) and the power of property rights. As Max, a retired clerk from Blackman's Bay said:

When you have paid for it you are in 'clover' and have security. Better than paying rent for years, that would cover your maintenance costs.

David had also retired but to a rural location on a five-acre block of land near the coast on the Saltwater River. He regarded himself to be a 'working class man' who relied on the aged pension, fishing and his vegetable garden to make ends meet. He felt secure because 'I own it. Nobody can kick me out. I'm financially secure and don't have to worry about payments.'

Of course respondents in all housing tenures recognised that no one was 100% secure in relation to their housing or life circumstances. They were aware that their health or economic circumstances could change, but they were optimistic. For example, Jenny had lived in her house in New Norfolk for over 40 years and having retired from her job as a bank officer enjoyed a strong sense of community membership and security:

I have security in the house as an owner. But I have feelings of insecurity like everyone else at moments.

Homeowners felt insecure about a range of issues from 'having the local council on your back, if you do something wrong' to the threat of robbery and home invasion. Although homeownership provided a sense of security it was also a source of anxiety because it was felt that other people would try to take away or violate it. Mike, a former newspaper editor from NSW who was living in Rosny regarded the main threat to his housing security to be from criminals.

The only threat is from lawless people on drugs who might break in and take your goods or assault the owner.

The fear of crime and home invasion was related to external forces, strangers who had to be kept out of the property. Ron, a tertiary educated, English, dual national living on the eastern shore in Mornington felt that the best way for homeowners to protect their property did not relate to the mobilisation of civil rights but rather in the choice of suburb, the character of the neighbours and the location of your housing in the street. He felt that 'security locks are useful, but the area I live in is good and we have good neighbours.'

Joan from Warrane also recognised the value of good neighbours even though she had taken steps to promote the physical security of the property.

We have dogs, gates, lights and excellent neighbours here but there are 'druggies' in other parts of the area.

People with a drug problem were readily identified as the 'outsider' or 'stranger' who posed a threat to property and owners. Whereas good neighbours and family members living close by were 'important' for support to people in all housing tenures. Homeowners and buyers choice of suburb was important because they connected the property location to the level of security they could expect to enjoy in their property. Joe, a tertiary educated baby boomer, had recently purchased a house in South Hobart. He believed that:

It is a decent neighbourhood. You feel safer in certain areas like South Hobart through to Moonah. There is a cultural expectation of privacy and protection and it helps if the house has solid walls.

Victoria, a dual national born in Egypt, had lived in 'British India' and finished her education in Europe. She was the only person who identified as 'upper class' due to her privileged background and private school education. Victoria described herself as an 'artist' and property owner living in Taroona, south of Hobart. As a

property owner she claimed that her rights were based on the belief that: 'We live in an ordered society'. She stressed the importance of the rule of law upon which her sense of security and rights were based (see Marshall 1973).

Homebuyers also suggested that housing security was related to income levels (economic security) and one male homebuyer felt that there was 'no housing security if you are poor'. If housing security was 'gained by hard work' it was also thought to be threatened by 'courts who are soft on crime' and by 'rules governing dogs, guns, building, sheds and what you say'. A desire for the courts to punish criminals harshly was strongly articulated but it was also felt that home owners should be allowed to possess guns and dogs to protect their property. One property buyer exhibited an irrational fear of 'compulsory purchase' by the government and regarded state institutions as a 'necessary evil' to protect property rights and punish criminals who might damage or steal his property.

Private renters (40%) said they had limited or 'no security' due to the potential for a rented property to be sold, the use of short term leases by landlords and the lack of appropriate residential tenancy protection. The use of threats by landlords and real estate agents, the lack of a written lease agreement and the belief that property managers could 'put you out anytime' promoted feelings of insecurity in the rental sector. Dennis, a private renter living in the predominantly public housing area of Gagebrook, felt frustrated (like 20% of property owners) when discussing security

and focused on the negative impact of crime. He said that 'robbers steal our goods but we can't defend our property with a shotgun'. This was due to the introduction of tough gun laws by the Commonwealth and state governments throughout Australia in 1997. The sense of security amongst private and public renters was often extended beyond the concept of housing rights to the more concrete aspects of physical security provided by dogs, fences, lights, gates, deadlocks and guns.

Public tenants felt more secure in their housing tenure than private rental tenants but the nature of their personal relationship with their Housing Tasmania tenancy worker and neighbours were just as important as tenancy issues, such as rent arrears. Ultimately, if the relationship with the tenancy worker was not good and the worker 'won't listen' or agree to make a rent repayment agreement the tenancy could be at risk. If the neighbours were anti social or unreasonable and the tenant could not settle the dispute via negotiation or mediation they generally applied for a transfer or moved out. A sense of domestic security can easily be shattered by the insensitive allocation of social housing to anti social tenants.

Mary a sixty-year-old matriarch in 'working class' Warrane, felt that the world was generally less secure:



Nothing is secure now doll, everything in the world is unsettled. All this war, hatred and no jobs. I feel that everything is falling down and there is no future for the younger ones.

The sense of uncertainty among older, public housing tenants was reminiscent of Marx's (1872) comments regarding the effects of the industrial revolution: 'All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind'. Rapid social and economic changes combined with a 'war on terror' have reinforced feelings of insecurity among older public tenants. Limited access to employment opportunities and the movement of young people to the mainland has further fuelled anxiety among older public housing tenants about the future.

### **Affordable and appropriate housing**

Surprisingly, respondents across all four housing tenures indicated that they had affordable and appropriate housing. This may have been due to the relatively low house prices in both the private rental and property market in Hobart (in early 2002). Only two private renters considered their housing expensive. Gloria rented a three-bedroom house in Glenorchy for four years and worked for a packaging company. As a Spanish speaker from Central America she found it hard to gain work when she first arrived in Australia. Now that she had secured full time

employment she wanted to move closer to her workplace and purchase a large property for her family. Maria wanted 'to buy a big four-bedroom house for the children' as she felt it would be cheaper than renting and would provide a stable home.

Joe was another private renter who found his housing unaffordable. He rented a small flat in the Glebe for \$90 per week, which was the equivalent of 60% of his income from Austudy. As a full time student he struggled to pay the rent especially during winter when the need for heating dramatically increased the electricity charges. He felt that his housing was appropriate for his needs and he enjoyed the close proximity to the city centre and the University Fine Arts School that were both within easy walking distance. For Joe the main problem was financial, he said that 'lack of money is the only barrier I have to living here'.

Private renters, especially single person households on a government pension or benefit found it difficult to afford private rental (in 2002) after the introduction of a Goods and Services Tax (GST) as property owners had passed on the increased costs associated with materials used in property repairs and maintenance.

Whereas the major issue for public tenants and homeowners was not affordability but the appropriateness, safety and location of their property.

### **Family or friends in the local community**

Homeowners (95%) and homebuyers (100%) overwhelmingly reported that they had friends or family living in the local area and that they felt like a member of the local community. All the public tenants also indicated they had friends or family living in the area and the majority of public tenants (65%) felt like members of the local community whereas the minority (35%) did not feel like a members of the local community and were all unemployed males. Although the majority of private renters (70%) indicated they had friends or family in the area they did not always engage with the local community and only 55% felt like a members of the local community. It appears that the support of friends and family in the local community was important but not enough to ensure a sense of membership. Perhaps the perceived (and actual) lack of tenure security in the private sector coupled with notions of mobility undermined the desire to become involved in local community activities.

The private renters who participated in the research were also younger than the respondents in other tenures, and 70% were single with no children. Children often provide opportunities for parents to make contacts within the local community via the utilisation of common child care centres, clubs and schools, especially in the case of people who are new to a particular area. A private renter, Ann chose to live in West Hobart, as it was close to her place of work, but she did not feel like a member of the local community because she had made no effort to interact with people in the area. Ann had 'moved around a bit. I used to work in

Burnie, part of the mobile population. I spend time with friends and at work'.

Work and friends were the primary focus of single people whereas parents were more engaged in community activities, due to their children's school and sport.

### **Membership the local community**

People in all four housing tenures provided similar reasons for feeling like a member of their local community. For example, they 'knew people' in the area, had 'friends here' or 'family in the area', they had 'lived in the area a long time', 'know the area' or had 'good neighbours'. The strength of interpersonal relationships, feelings of belonging and acceptance in the local community and the length of time spent in the area provided a fair indication of the level of identification with the local community. The length of time an individual spent in the local area was a significant factor in their feelings of membership in the local community. The longer someone lived in a neighbourhood the stronger their feelings of membership and belonging. This is also true of migrants and new citizens who report stronger ties with their new country of residence over time.

In addition to general feelings of membership homeowners, private and public tenants suggested that they felt like a member of the community because they were involved with the local school, local church or a community group. June, a homebuyer, who had lived in Howrah for two years felt like a 'local' because "I

know lots of people in the area and feel like a local person". The importance of self-identification with the 'locals' and having a feeling of belonging (being an Australian) was also highlighted in the analysis of the AES 2001 data examined in chapter five, in terms of being a 'true' Australian and feeling like an Australian.

Private renters felt more 'mobile' than people in other housing tenures and cited 'friendly shop keepers', the 'location' of their housing as a reason why they 'like to live here' or the 'level of eye contact' as indicators of feeling like a member of the local community. There was an element of relativity in responses as people who had moved from large mainland cities considered Hobart to be a 'small, friendly and relaxed place', whereas renters from rural Tasmania regarded Hobart as 'big and unfriendly'. Individual's urban experience and level of educational achievement probably influenced their expectations and sense of membership.

### **Not a member of the local community**

In *Bowling Alone* Putnam (2000, 284) suggested that levels of civic disengagement in America could be explained in terms of time 'constraints' caused by; work, urban sprawl, watching television, generational change and new forms of association like soccer and the internet. These factors provided clues to how people experienced their local environment or neighbourhood and responded to their local community in Australia. The constraints of working long hours were an

issue for three home buyers, including a shift worker and a couple in the hospitality industry, when they explained why they did not feel like a full member of their local community. Working long or unusual hours disrupted traditional patterns of social interaction and isolated individuals from the 'normal' affairs of the local community. In this context the 'local community' means the immediate geographical area or neighbourhood in which the respondent lives, shops and pursues leisure and sporting activities

Work disrupted residential patterns as it forced people to change suburbs and live in areas they did not identify with. Richard was born and lived all of his life in Kingston, twenty kilometres south of Hobart, but he had recently moved to Derwent Park, a light industrial area north of Hobart, due to his work as a motor mechanic. He did not consider himself to be a member of the local community because he did not feel 'comfortable' in the area. He would prefer to live in Kingston, which he regarded as his 'home'. Richard's low level of 'comfort' in the area, where he felt an 'outsider' reduced his desire to engage in the local community and the distance from 'home' reduced his contact with his community of choice and emotional home, Kingston.

Ben, a single male, who rented privately in Moonah, claimed that he did not feel a part of the local community due to his 'lack of work'. He expressed a strong desire to gain employment and had several job interviews scheduled. In contrast to

Putnam's findings, Ben believed that employment would increase his ability to interact with people in the local area because he would be able to 'go out' more due to his higher income. Apart from lack of income and family commitments people provided one of three other reasons why they did not feel a part of their local community. These responses can be divided between those who did not want to engage with the local community, those who could not interact due to physical 'constraints', such as poor health, and those who wanted to get involved in the local community but had been unable to do so.

Three homeowners and three homebuyers cited their lack of membership and participation in the local neighbourhood as being due to old age, poor health or their status as a 'new comer', who had 'just moved here'. In the case of one homebuyer, Sarah from West Moonah, she had not engaged with anyone in the local community because she had 'only lived here one and half years'. She felt more affinity and membership with Mount Stuart or Lenah Valley where all of her family and friends lived and she would prefer to live in one of those suburbs. The primary barrier for Sarah was her close connection with another suburb, in which she spent much of her free time and to which she planned to move in the future.

Public tenants mentioned 'old age' as a barrier to involvement in their local community but two also cited 'depression' as a factor. Fred, a retired ex-soldier and self described 'knockabout', had rented a unit in Rokeby (a broadacre public

housing estate on the eastern shore of the River Derwent) from Housing Tasmania, the State Housing Authority, for 12 years. He claimed that “you can't get older people to do things in the area” because they were withdrawn, fearful or depressed. In addition, he claimed that “you can't talk to young people around here because they were the dumb, young generation” and he claimed it was hard to get people motivated in Rokeby. The high levels of under employment especially among young people, lack of employment opportunities and high levels of public housing in the Rokeby and Clarendon Vale area have been identified as ‘challenges’ by Housing Tasmania (see Affordable Housing Strategy 2004).

George lived in another public housing broadacre estate north of Hobart in Gagebrook and he did not feel like a member of his local community. He claimed that people 'don't get involved' with the neighbours and 'keep to themselves', because they wanted 'to keep out of trouble'. The claim by 35% of public housing tenants that they don't feel like members of their local community highlights the need for greater Commonwealth government efforts to promote 'stronger communities' (see FACS 2000). Some public tenants (15%) felt 'dumped' by the State Housing Authority in housing estates due to the availability of 'undesirable' properties and they planned to 'transfer' out or 'go private' in a suburb where they had family or friendship networks.



Private renters seemed less engaged in their local community than people in all the three other housing tenures. In theory, they could exercise a choice of location but in practice the cost of private rental limited their choice in relation to where they could afford to live. Private renters stated that they 'don't know anyone in the area', wanted to 'keep to myself' and 'haven't made much effort' to get to know people or join local organisations. Bob, from Glenorchy, claimed he was 'not really interested' in getting involved in the local community. He felt it was best to "keep to yourself, as it is the best way to keep out of trouble". Bob identified strongly with the local area and claimed that he liked living in Glenorchy: "I lived and went to school here when I was a young bloke but nobody ever asked me to get involved" in any voluntary or community work. The need to be invited to participate in community based activities suggests there is the potential for increased levels of civic engagement that has been tempered by a desire to 'avoid trouble'. Perhaps 10% of Australians were waiting for an event or opportunity to trigger their participation in the local community.

### **Reasons for living in the area**

People in all housing tenures claimed that they lived in an area due to 'choices' that reflected their income, networks or lifestyle. People in private rental and homeownership indicated that they lived in a particular area because it was 'affordable', 'close to work', 'close to family' or close to a range of services, such as

the city, shops, transport or the beach. They also 'liked the house' or the area they had chosen to live in. Homeowners aged over 65 years indicated that they had 'retired' to a particular area because they enjoyed the beach or the local climate.

Homeowners, buyers and private tenants tended to base their choice of housing in terms of affordability, family and work. In contrast public tenants made their choice of housing area based primarily on their level of 'need' for housing and the 'offer' of a property by Housing Tasmania. Public tenants claimed that they lived in a particular area because they had been offered a house by Housing Tasmania in the area and felt 'it was the only option at the time' as they 'could not afford to live anywhere else' or rent privately. This indicates that public housing tenants felt they had a very limited choice and accepted properties in 'undesirable' locations out of pure necessity and in three cases out of desperation. These public housing tenants indicated that they would move closer to family or friends, services and employment opportunities when they got the means and the opportunity.

The supply of affordable public housing properties to disadvantaged people, especially young single females with children, in broadacre suburbs where they had no family or friends, who could provide emotional or physical support can lead to feelings of 'isolation', 'depression' and social marginalisation. Public tenants reported that when new people moved in to broadacre areas they either vacated the property within 12 months or adapted to deal with the unique local

environment. The people who adapted and stayed in the area reported that they 'like it here now', as the 'kids went to school here' and 'have grown up here'. After the children had 'grown up' and moved closer to town or interstate to pursue employment opportunities Mum or Dad remained in the family home and area because they had grown accustomed to it over time. The demand for social housing remains strong in Tasmania (Housing Tasmanian 2004) because it offers people who are disadvantaged and unemployed access to affordable and secure long term housing. However, the demand for social housing is not evenly distributed across all suburbs and property types. The broadacre public housing areas remain less attractive to applicants than properties closer to services and employment opportunities

#### **A desire to live somewhere else**

The finding that half the twenty private renters interviewed would prefer to live somewhere else was surprising. My initial perception was that higher levels of mobility in the private rental sector would translate into a better locational fit due to renters exercising real choice in the rental market but that choice was limited by a range of factors such as housing affordability, availability, income levels, employment and appropriate rental references.

Homeowners and buyers reported that they were 'settled' and 'enjoyed' the area where they lived although a couple of older homeowners indicated that they would prefer to live closer to services and their family due to concerns regarding their age and health. The majority of public housing tenants (65%) were keen to remain in their current location as they had established themselves in the area, made friends in the street and had children attending the local school. Long-term public tenants who had seen there 'kids grow up in the area' claimed they would miss the area and the people if they moved.

Where there was a strong desire by a minority of public tenants (35%) to move to another area it reflected individual feelings of being an 'outsider', primarily by males who were detached from the local community (see Coser 1971). Public tenants like Fred in Rokeby and George in Gagebrook did not feel like members of their local community. They had no connection with the area prior to being offered a property in the area by the State Housing Authority, Housing Tasmania. Both men took the property in spite of the location, which they considered 'undesirable' because they desperately needed affordable accommodation at the time. The allocation of public housing to applicants in suburbs where they had no connection does not suggest 'sensitive' allocation practices. Fred and George stated that they wanted to live somewhere else and felt they had been set up to fail by public housing. They did not have any 'ties that bind' them to the local community and only remained there due to the low rent. In the long term both

men planned to move to suburbs were they had family or friends and would feel less isolated.

The locational aspirations of people in all four tenures overlapped. The ideal area preference was for a property in a 'quiet location', 'near the city', 'beach', or 'in the country'. The choice of preferred areas included inner city suburbs such as Battery Point and West Hobart, high status suburbs like Sandy Bay, waterfront properties in Montagu Bay, Midway Point and Kingston, accessible bush locations like Lenah Valley, Brighton and Franklin or interstate to Queensland and Sydney, due to the warmer climate, and the fine arts student in private rental wanted to move to New York due to the culture and excitement of the American city.

### **Homebuyer's participation patterns**

Although the majority of homebuyers (80%) claimed that they had been involved in voluntary or community work in the past only 45% were still involved in a community organisation, including: The Red Cross, Girl Guides, Cubs, RSPCA, Multiple Sclerosis Society, Community Radio, St. John's Ambulance, community support work, the United Nations and Community Aid. Homebuyers reported high levels of involvement in community organisations, especially sport (30%), such as cricket, hockey, surf and dance clubs. Involvement in Parents and Friends Associations and children's school activities were also cited as important by 20% of

people buying their home. Only one homebuyer claimed to be involved in the local Neighbourhood Watch program which is surprising as three had indicated earlier that they were concerned about property related crime in the local area.

The majority of homebuyers (55%) indicated that they were 'too busy', 'working full time', had other 'leisure interests' or young children which reduced their ability and time to be involved in local community work. However all twenty homebuyers in the study thought that there were benefits from participating in the local community, even though they did not all participate. They suggested that it allowed people to 'meet other people;' make 'social contacts', 'enhance their knowledge' and have a 'greater say in local affairs'. Only 15% homebuyers reported that they were involved in the local Church or a charitable organisation, compared to the 30% who were involved in sporting clubs and 20% who were active in their children's school.

Homebuyers identified a range of disadvantages in regard to participation in the local community, including the 'loss of privacy', meeting 'nasty people', 'lost time for yourself' and having 'people knocking on your door'. None of the homebuyers identified themselves as members of a political party or indicated that they were politically active. Half the homebuyers surveyed were members or former members of a trade union, while only two were former members of a political party, one Labor and one Liberal homebuyer indicated that they were

'disillusioned', 'apathetic' or 'not interested' in politics or community groups. Over the previous twelve months most of the homebuyers (60%) had participated in a neighbourhood, political or community in the past 12 months. However, only one homebuyer had been in touch with a politician or the media, 30% expressed concerns about the environment, and 25% had contacted the council regarding neighbourhood issues such as dogs barking, over hanging trees, water leaks and graffiti.

Homebuyers (45%) said they were more likely to 'sign a petition' regarding the local environment rather than attend a rally or protest march. They were focused on local issues, sport and children's school activities rather than social or political activities. They had an environmental and neighbourhood focus but did not appear to be a radical force for change in the community (see Winter 1994). In fact only one homebuyer had been to a rally, written a letter to the council or talked to a politician in the last twelve months and that was 'about the local bus service'.

### **Homeowner's participation patterns**

The majority of homeowners (55%) claimed they had been involved in voluntary and community work but only 45% were currently involved with the neighbourhood watch, local school or a sporting club. Like home buyers the property owners identified a wide range of community activities including:

involvement with the local council, children's school, Progress Association, Garden club, Probus Club, Playgroup, local church, hospital visits, Rotary club, Friends of Rosny, a local housing co-op and the Neighbourhood Watch. Homeowners reported higher levels of involvement with their local Neighbourhood Watch than homebuyers but they were generally less involved in school activities. Only 25% of homeowners were members of sporting clubs including: canoeing, pistol shooting, dog shows and tennis clubs.

Homeowners (30%) were more involved with the local church than home buyers (15%). This might reflect concerns about mortality or be a generational change as homeowners tended to be older than the home buyers interviewed in the research. Both groups thought the main benefit of participating in the local community activities was from 'meeting people'. While homebuyers focused on the individual 'networking' opportunities that could be of benefit, homeowners generally stressed their 'contribution to the community', and level of 'satisfaction', 'security' and 'acceptance' they enjoyed within the local neighbourhood.

The majority of homeowners (80%) were very positive about participation in the local community. Only two owners identified disadvantages that they associated with participation in the local community. They highlighted factors such as the 'time', 'cost', 'resentment' and 'loss of privacy' related to engagement in the local community. Like homebuyers none of the homeowners interviewed were active in



a political party. This lends support to Troy's (2002) claim that homeowners were not politically partisan. Three homeowners were ex-trade union members who were either retired, 'disillusioned' or 'support the greens now'. Homeowners said they were 'not interested', or had 'no reason' to be involved in politics when they could 'watch it on television' and pursue 'other interests'. The other interests were mainly leisure, family or community based activities.

Three homeowners stated that they had 'felt stronger about politics when they were younger'. They did not attend rallies or boycott products and only 10% said they had signed a petition in the last 12 months. Homeowners (30%) were willing to contact a politician or the media, by letter or telephone, rather than the local council if they had an issue or concern. The issues that homeowners were concerned with varied from 'environmental issues' to the 'state of the roads'. These issues were main stream and transcend any notions of tenure based lobbying. The willingness of homeowners (30%) to mobilise the media and politicians indicated that they were able to engage in the democratic political process to achieve their interests and suggested some potential for a 'radical' position based on their tenure and consumption practices (see Winter 1994, 59).

### **Private rental participation patterns**

Private rental tenants were divided equally between those who had been involved in voluntary and community work and those who had 'never' participated in any local or community activities. Only 35% of private renters were actively involved in the neighbourhood watch, local school or a sporting club. The types of community work undertaken by private renters overlapped with the participation patterns of people in other housing tenures but also included participation in gardening activities and the Community Bartering (or Lets) program. A few tertiary educated private renters were involved in environmental groups such as Act up, Friends of the Earth and the Wilderness Society, or had performed voluntary work for mainstream non government organisations like The Guide Dogs, St. Vincent de Paul, Lions Club, Meals on Wheels, the local 'Op Shop' and the Volunteer Fire Service.

People in private rental supplied similar reasons to people in other tenures for not getting involved in community or voluntary activities. They claimed they were 'too busy with other things', they had 'no time ' because they were 'working all day', 'minding children and animals' to get involved in community activities. Two private renters with children were involved in their local school but the main focus of their community activity was sporting. Private renters (35%) were active in a range of team and individual sports including: martial arts, rugby, soccer, golf, boxing, little athletics and gym. In contrast to the strong identification with sporting activities only two private renters, both mature females, claimed to be

involved in the local Church. Local sporting clubs provided not only the venue for exercise but also the opportunity for interaction with and membership in the local community for several renters. According to Smith (1991, 20) participation in sporting activities and the popularity of sporting heroes helps to further the 'collective and national interests'. Sport appears to be a cohesive element in Australian society that provides a sense of belonging and membership at both a local, regional and national level (see Hutchins 2002).

All twenty private renters claimed that there were benefits associated with participation in the local community, even though only ten of them actually participated. The main benefit that they identified was that it was possible to 'meet people'. This was a common theme for people across all housing tenures but private renters also thought it was an opportunity to 'get to know neighbours', 'develop a community spirit', 'make friends' and 'reduce isolation'. Private renters did not want to be 'lonely' and claimed that they participated in sporting clubs to make friends. However, the non-active renters cited several disadvantages to participation including; 'gossip', 'the lack of privacy', the feeling that 'you can be disappointed by others' or the concern that you might meet 'rough' people. It would appear likely that the risks associated with meeting neighbours and local people outweighed the potential benefits for half the renters.

There was a general lack of interest and enthusiasm among private renters for politicians and unions, which supports the findings from the analysis of the AES 2001 data. However, three renters were concerned about environmental issues, which are very political in Tasmania. Private renters were more likely to call the council than a politician about issues such as the roads, drains, dogs and trees. A female journalist in private rental felt that people should call the media to highlight their local issues or concerns. The private renters who were randomly selected to participate in the research were generally younger than both the property owners and homebuyers and several had a tertiary education, which could partially explain why 45% had signed petitions or been on rallies during the twelve months period prior to the research. Younger people with a tertiary education have been identified with increased rates of political participation and involvement in post material and new social movements, such as the 'greens' (see Barns and Kaase 1979, Inglehart 1990, Dalton and Kuechler 1990).

### **Public housing participation patterns**

Of the twenty public tenants interviewed during the research only 45% indicated that they were involved in any voluntary, sporting or community work. They were as involved in formal voluntary and community work as people in any of the other ownership tenures, which contradict the findings outlined in chapter five based on analysis of the AES 2001 data. The interviews with public tenants also

provided an opportunity to identify any informal community activities that they might be engaged in. It was apparent that they were mainly involved with their 'child's school', 'parents and friends' association, the 'neighbourhood centre', the local church, The Salvation Army or the 'Bridgewater Urban Renewal Program' (BURP), a non government community group based in the local neighbourhood house. All of these activities required a time commitment from public tenants but no upfront membership fees, as a lack of 'disposable' income was cited as a major barrier to participation in formal sporting clubs and associations.

Public tenants were mainly 'focused' on family and cultural activities such as the local school, 'sick' relatives and neighbours, rather than formal community or voluntary work. Several public tenants were not sure if they 'had something to offer' while others were either 'not interested' or lacked the 'motivation' or 'time' to get involved. Only one public tenant was involved in a sporting club, other public tenants indicated that they 'watch sport on television' and several indicated that they had Pay TV.

As with people in other housing tenure, public tenants readily identified the benefits of participating in the local community, such as the chance to 'meet new people', 'get to know people' and 'know what's going on'. Four public tenants were willing to 'help out if asked' to 'do something for the community', 'learn new things' and 'keep the ratbags under control'. The potential for increased levels of

community participation in public housing areas has been demonstrated by the work of community activists and tenants in the Bridgewater area, in terms of reducing vandalism, crime and rubbish in the local area (see BURP 1996).

However, many public tenants (40%) felt that there were more disadvantages than benefits involved in participating in the local community. There was a 'fear of getting involved' mainly due to 'anti social neighbours', 'gossip' and a 'fear of being watched'. There was a concern that public housing areas were occupied by certain older individuals who watched their neighbour's activities from behind curtains only to report them to the Police or relevant government agency. This image implied that public tenants could experience public housing like prisoners in Foucault's (1975) panopticon, which provided constant visual access to enforce institutional discipline.

Public tenants claimed that it was 'better to stick to yourself' and 'watch your neighbour's property' rather than get involved with the local community. There was a pervasive concern about 'ratbags' and 'bad ones' accessing public housing and causing trouble in the area. The suspicion of 'strangers' and risks associated with new public tenants promoted withdrawal and a reluctance to interact or connect within the local community. Fear of the 'stranger' limited curiosity or goodwill and the desire to get to know new people, especially among older public housing tenants.

The negative attitude of some public housing tenants (40%) regarding participation in the local community provided a stark contrast to the attitude of most homeowners (90%) who were more positive about engagement in the local community and claimed higher levels of past participation in the community. The fact that homeowners, buyers and public tenants enjoyed high levels of tenure based security suggests that a 'secure home' can be perceived as both a 'castle' to protect or a 'prison' to escape, depending on the local environment and relationships residents have forged in the local area with friends, neighbours, Church groups and community organisations.

No public tenants were involved in a political party or trade union, although there were several ex-trade union members who were not 'financial', due to prolonged unemployment or sickness. Public tenants (75%) were 'not interested', 'could not be bothered' or were 'afraid to get involved' in politics due to their limited political knowledge. The local council was the only point of political contact for public tenants, apart from one tenant who regularly telephoned talk back radio. Several public tenants (25%) cited health issues that limited their ability to become more involved in local community groups or activities. Public tenants (25%) were concerned with specific civic or neighbourhood issues, such as rubbish in the street, trees overhanging their fence and uneven footpaths. A couple of public tenants had contacted politicians and signed petitions in the past, over twelve

months prior to the interview, to keep the local medical centre open and to set up a neighbourhood house, but they were now focused on family matters rather than civil, political or social issues (see Marshall 1950, 1973).

## **Analysis**

There were some common features in the participation patterns of people in the four different housing tenures. For example parents, especially mothers, were involved in their children's school and sporting activities regardless of the tenure or suburb. Parents living in public housing in Bridgewater and home owners in Sandy Bay were engaged in children's school and sporting activities. Public tenants (95%), homeowners (85%) and homebuyers (80%) claimed higher levels of tenure based security than private renters (65%). While homeowners and homebuyers were secure and positive about participation in the local community, public tenants (40%) were more fearful and reluctant to become engaged in the local community. Public tenants (45%) claimed similar levels of participation in the local community as people in other tenures but tended to focus on the constraints associated with community participation rather than the benefits. They wanted to keep out of trouble by disengaging from the local community and were more focused on family activities whereas homebuyers and owners pursued a strategy of community engagement.



Private renters (35%) lacked a sense of security in their tenure but only two regarded their housing as less affordable than people in other tenures. Their participation rates in the local community (35%) were lower than people in the three other tenures and was strategically mobilised in order to meet people and make friends, because they did not feel like a member of the local community. Half the private renters interviewed wanted to live somewhere else, closer to family, services, the bush or beach. In contrast, homeowners and buyers enjoyed where they lived and felt very secure in the local community.

Apart from the obvious income and asset differences between public housing tenants and property buyer and owners there were a range of age/generational, educational and employment differences which influenced levels of participation and membership in the local community (see Winter 1994). Housing tenures reinforced differences in civic participation and encouraged particular forms of membership. The formal participation of home owners and buyers (45%) in charitable and community organisations contrasts with the low levels of participation by private tenants (35%) who also cited lower levels of security and feeling of membership in the local community...

Figure 7.1: Membership, participation and security by housing tenure

	Membership	Participation	Security
Owner	75%	45%	85%
Buyer	80%	45%	80%
Private renter	55%	35%	65%
Public renter	65%	45%	95%

Hobart 2002. Respondents were asked: 8.1 Do you feel like a member of your local community?

8.10 Are you involved with the local neighbourhood watch, the local school or a sporting club? 7.6

Do you feel these (housing) rights provide you with a secure home?

This research chapter identified the civic and cultural practices of homeowners and renters in Tasmania (see Jones 1997). More surprising was the difference between homeowners (45%) who claimed they were willing to 'contribute' to the local community and 'deepen' the quality of community life (see Howard 1999), and private renters (35%) who were focused on sporting activities. The high levels of security that public tenants enjoyed did not encourage them all to participate in charitable or sporting organisations, whereas 'busy' homebuyers who were striving to achieve full ownership appeared to be very engaged in sporting clubs. These findings complement and contrast with the AES 2001 data which suggested that public tenants were less active in community organisations than homebuyers, owners or private renters. These findings also lend support to Turner's (2002) claim that ontological security is an important factor in the practice of citizenship.

At the same time half the respondents from a range of housing tenures felt that their rights were under threat, which supports Barbalet's (1988, 111) argument that citizenship rights could be threatened or lost rather than be positively developed in the future.

In terms of the theoretical debate, the main argument has found subtle support from the analysis. I argued that the formal contesting of knowledge was inextricably entangled in broader social conflicts over freedom and equality, and that Mannheim's sociology of knowledge allows a frugal reworking of Marshall's (1950, 1972) models of citizenship. I applied Mannheim's sociology of knowledge to modify Marshall's hyphenated models of citizenship that were composed of civic/capitalist, political/democratic, and social/welfare elements. Mannheim's 'dynamic synthesis' introduced cultural, economic and political 'thought styles' into Marshall's modern, liberal view of citizenship. The liberal, individual homebuyer emerged in the analysis, as did the dialectically collective homeowner and the culturally conservative 'nativistic' public housing tenant. These findings are in effect a synthesis of the subtle differences in responses provided by people in the different housing tenures who appear to share a common grounding in citizenship, in terms of their cultural sharing of symbols (and language), and their economic and political rationality of civic participation and membership from which emerged the means of attaining a differentiated 'viewpoint' or continuum of citizenship (Mannheim 1928, 256).

The last three chapters have analysed the quantitative and qualitative data, now I want to reconsider the data in the light of technical debates on social typologies. In the next chapter I will capture the homeownership, rental, civic and cultural elements, suggested by this tenure based research, in a working typology of citizenship which owes as much to the work of Marshall (1950), Mannheim (1952), Jones (1997), and Simmel (1950) as it does to my experience in the social housing sector, the 80 people interviewed during the qualitative research, and the secondary analysis of the AES (2001) data.

## **Chapter Eight**

### **Typology of Citizenship and Housing**

#### **Introduction**

This chapter demonstrates that, having done some empirical research, it is possible to go further in developing a typology along the lines suggested in chapters one and two. As I mentioned in those chapters the meaning of citizenship has long been disputed (see Isin 2002, Lister 1997) and cross cut by debates regarding the political, economic and cultural resources associated with the status of citizens (Mannheim 1952: Turner 1993). As mentioned in chapter two Marshall (1973, 71) elaborated citizenship in terms of its civil, political and social elements, to which Parsons (1977) added a cultural dimension. Later, Barbalet (1988) connected Marshall's theory of citizenship to notions of class resentment and the struggle for social equality, and Lister (1997) identified the gendered nature of that social inequality.

While Marshall (1973, 70) defined citizenship in terms of 'full membership' in the national community, Aristotle (1964) regarded 'political participation' as the key element in distinguishing the full citizen. For the purposes of this research I have operationalised citizenship in terms of civil, cultural and political membership and participation, in addition to Turner's (2002) notion of ontological security. The typology of tenure based citizenship developed below, suggests that there is an emphasis on formal civic membership by property owners and informal cultural participation by

public housing renters, which can be understood in terms of citizenship and tenure status rather than in terms of housing classes (see Rex and Moore 1967).

This chapter outlines an interpretive typology of citizens in different housing tenures, which relates to varying types of civic, cultural and political membership and participation in the local community. The typology attempts to highlight some of the subtle and interesting features of tenure related attitudes and practices of citizenship gleaned during the research process. Typologies have a long tradition in the social sciences and specifically within the literature relating to citizenship (see Aristotle 1964; Walzer 1970; Verba and Nie 1972; Dahl 1984). The purpose of this typology is to sensitize the reader to a diverse range of citizenship types that have been related to particular housing tenures. The typology takes into account information gleaned from the AES 2001 data as well as the telephone interviews.

The earliest recorded discussion of the meaning citizenship was in the classical Greek city-states, Aristotle (1964), Polybius (1979) and Herodotus (2003) all identified a variety of citizenship 'classes'. Aristotle (1964, 159) suggested that democracies could be 'classified according to the presence or absence of a modest property-qualifications' in the sense that the people with property were citizens and those without property were not citizens. In the ancient Greek world only adult male property owners born in the city were eligible for full citizenship, women, slaves and foreigners were excluded from political participation (Dahl 1984, 96).

Weber (1958, 102) claimed that the development of modern citizenship began in the medieval cities of Western Europe. The medieval city incorporated individuals not on the basis of kinship or tribe but by an oath of allegiance based on a common religion, Christianity. Citizenship provided incentives, rights and privileges, such as the freedom and legal basis to trade to an array of foreign merchants and this initially excluded Jews on the basis of religion. The growth of cities was promoted and patronised throughout Western Europe by dynastic rulers who granted charters based on 'jural privilege and economic considerations' (Bartlett 1994, 170). Freedom for individuals to trade was matched by a relaxation of other traditional 'seigneurial rights' (Bartlett 1994, 171).

Tilly (1997, 600) argues that for centuries 'citizenship bound most western European people not to organisations like the large, centralised consolidated states of recent experience but to smaller municipal units'. Between 1750 and 1850 European states consolidated their authority and subordinated municipal citizenship(s) into a national form (Tilly 1997, 601). As nation states grew in size and power the term citizen was extended gradually to include most members of the state including minority religious groups, the poor, women, former servants and slaves. Nation states also differentiated between their citizens and non-citizens according to a variety of criteria including; age (adults and minors), law (prisoners and free people), place of birth (native born and naturalised) ethnicity (ethnic and non ethnic) and in terms of membership type (temporary or full) (Tilly 1997, 601).

Modern citizenship resembles a set of mutual claims within a contract between individuals and the government of a nation state. Tilly (1997, 600) claims that 'it differs from most other contracts in 1) binding whole categories of persons rather than single individuals to each other, 2) involving differentiation among levels and degrees of members, 3) directly engaging a government's coercive power.' The contract also involves 'fierce contestation' over the control of substantial resources between a diverse range of 'insiders' and government (Tilly 1997, 600).

The nature of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' was considered in the work of Simmel on 'social types'. Simmel provided a modern social 'gallery' or 'inventory of social forms' (Coser 1977, 182). Along with the 'stranger' Simmel (1950) described a variety of social types such as the 'adventurer', the 'mediator', the 'poor', the 'renegade' and the 'man in the middle'. He argued that each social type becomes what he is through his "relations with others who assign him a particular position and expect him to behave in specific ways" (Coser 1977, 182-183). The 'stranger', the 'poor' and the 'renegade' were useful social types in the development of a typology of citizenship, as the 'stranger' can be equated to an 'outsider' who is not entitled to citizenship based on ethnicity or 'blood', as in Germany, or in terms of connection to the 'land', as in France (see Brubaker 1992). The 'poor' were treated differently according to Simmel only when they required assistance, but they form an alternative interest group to the 'rich' and the 'well to do' in modern democracies as they did in the early Greek city states (see Aristotle 1964). The



'renegade' can be equated with Walzer's (1970, 203) 'disloyal citizen', or 'traitor' who betrays his country, forsakes his homeland and his people.

In the case of the 'stranger' Simmel (1950, 402) suggested that "spatial relations are only the condition, on the one hand and the symbol, on the other, of human relations". The stranger is no longer the wanderer who comes and goes but rather the free agent that comes and stays, but may potentially wanderer again. Although the 'stranger' is fixed within spatial boundaries of a state or a particular group "his position in this group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself" (Simmel 1950, 402). According to Simmel (1950, 403) the 'stranger' is by nature "no owner of soil – soil not only in the physical, but also in the figurative sense". In Australia homeowners were considered to have a 'stake' in the nation (Troy 2000). Homeowners were also perceived to be stable citizens with roots in the local community in contrast to renters who were regarded as more transient and mobile, 'potential wanderers' in spatial and community terms. Even though the research did not examine the comparative mobility of homeowners and renters other research does not support these perceptions (see Yates 2002: Winter 1998).

The main reason for introducing Simmel's notion of the 'stranger' is to illustrate the potential of a gallery of citizenship types, which can be used to illustrate tenure based civic, political and cultural groups within the nation state. Moving from a conceptual

level to a relatively grounded approach Walzer (1970, 226) distinguishes three kinds of citizen: the oppressed citizen, the alienated citizen, and the pluralist citizen. Walzer (1970, 228) recognised that the list was not exhaustive and mentions a fourth type the ardent non citizen "who usually finds his own way to escape the moralizing of political men". There are all 'kinds and degrees' of citizens and it was not Walzer's (1970, 226-228) intention (or my purpose), to limit or suggest a narrow range of social types to cover the complexity of 'moral life' in the modern state. However, it is useful to briefly outline the nature of Walzer's three kinds of moral citizenship that are mentioned above. The 'oppressed citizen' counts for less than his fellows according to Walzer (1970, 226) "when it comes to the protection of life, liberty, property and welfare". Although the oppressed citizen is not entirely unprotected and he can participate in political action his "path is hard and often dangerous". His obligations to the state will depend on his level of achievement in the wider community.

Walzer (1970, 226) claims that the 'alienated citizen' receives protection from the state and lives privately within the shadow of that protection. He chooses not to participate in political life and views the state "as an alien though not necessarily as a hostile force, and he wants only to live in peace under its jurisdiction". In contrast to the 'self-alienated citizen' who chooses not to participate in the political process, Walzer (1970, 227) identifies a second form of alienated citizen who is a product of the system and 'its ideology.' He is more likely to be regarded as a 'good citizen' as he identifies strongly with the state and fulfils his obligations with out question or conflict.

For the 'pluralist citizen' membership is a moral choice rather than a legal status. He receives "protection and shares in ruling and being ruled, not in spite of his plural memberships but because of them" (Walzer 1970, 227). The pluralist citizen also falls into two categories like the alienated citizen. The pluralist either belong to groups making claims against the state; and may be obligated to disobey its laws, as in the case of conscientious objectors or even traitors, or, they belong to groups not making such claims who are bound without complications, to obey the laws they help in making. Walzer's 'pluralist' type approaches Aristotle's (1964) classical notion of citizens who participate in the political activities and decision making of the state. What Walzer (1970, 228) refers to as 'non citizens', are people who are either legally not eligible for citizenship, who do not feel like a member of the national community, are ineligible or unwilling to vote and undertake their duties as citizens. Walzer (1970) initially identified three main types of citizen but later introduces three alternative types in the form of other 'alienated' and 'pluralist' categories and an 'anti citizen', so that he ends up with six categories. Vanda and Nie's (1972, 31) also identified six types of 'political participant' or citizen in America that were helpful in highlighting the potential range of tenure based citizens. The six political types identified by Vanda and Nie include: the inactive, the voting specialists; the parochial participants; the communalists; the campaigners; and the complete activists.

In his analysis of modern political systems, Dahl (1984, 95) identified four distinct political strata in America: the powerful; the power seekers; the political stratum; and the apolitical. Only certain citizens hold power or seek power within the political system the rest may be interested and involved whereas others are indifferent. It is interesting to yoke the four political strata directly to four distinct housing tenures: homeowners, homebuyers, private renters and social tenants. I am certainly not suggesting that political behaviour is directly dependent on housing tenure or property ownership. However if we exchange the concept of 'power' in Dahl's (1984) work for 'property' and 'political' for 'housing'. In the context of tenure based citizen types you could create three distinct housing categories: the propertied; the property seekers; the private rental housing stratum; and a fourth 'non-housing' stratum. It may seem absurd to regard anyone as 'ahousing' but then it could be equally naive to label someone as 'apolitical'. The 'propertied' and 'property seekers' are part of the majority of citizens in Australia involved in homeownership, as owners and buyers respectively, in contrast to the 30% minority who do not currently seek to own or control their housing. The housing stratum evokes notions of 'choice' and 'constraint'; citizens are housed but not involved in ownership, they want to gain ownership but may not be able or willing to participate as with people in private rental. They have the potential to become involved in homeownership given the opportunity and resources.

## **Analysis**

This section links the typology (below) with the theories of citizenship outlined in chapter two and discusses the apparent lack of class and race issues in the local housing and citizenship context. Marshall (1973, 92) suggested that citizenship had an integrating effect on society and provided a bond to replace the 'sentiment and fiction' of kinship. This research indicates that kinship remains a factor in modern nation states and has become embedded in aspects of socio cultural citizenship especially among marginalised public housing tenants (see Mullins and Western 2001). In contrast to Marshall, Giddens (1982, 175) rightly argued that the civil, political and social forms of citizenship act as 'levers' to promote the further development of individual freedoms but were also the 'points which spark conflict' in society. I would suggest that both Giddens (1982) and Turner (1990) imply that citizenship has a 'dialectical process' with the potential to increase public radicalism over time.

Turner (1993, 9) identified four types of citizenship with different social and cultural traditions. These types of citizenship differed along two political dimensions: whether they were developed from below or above (and were active or passive), and if they were developed in public or private space, with the blessing or threat from the state. For example in Germany, Bismarck granted rights from above to gain middle class support. While in France and America political rights were taken from below by the people after revolutionary struggle. The limited political space of Eastern Europe required the private development of citizenship in contrast to liberal nations, like Britain, where the public space allowed the public contestation and development of rights. Turner's (1993)

'active and passive' dimensions are used in this thesis, in concert with Mannheim's (1952) 'dynamic and static' constructions of social reality, in order to interpret and modify Marshall's (1950, 1972, 1981) civil/capitalist, political/ democratic and social /welfare elements and introduce emotional (or arational), collective and cultural factors into the typology (see White and Donoghue 2003).

The diversity and tensions within the theoretical rendering of citizenship outlined in chapter two is reflected in the tenure based typology outlined below. The civil (active and passive), political (dynamic and static), social (public and private) elements of Marshall (1950), Mannheim(1952) and Turner (1993) are combined with the individual, collective and cultural forms of socio political membership and participation outlined variously by de Tocqueville (1981), Barbalet (1988) and Jones (1997).

The notion of a 'radical homebuyer and owner' (see Winter 1994) reflects Marshall's (1950, 1973) liberal belief in democratic progress based on the individuals need for belonging, and desire for greater freedom and security. The traditional homebuyer was more politically conservative than the radical homebuyer or owner who were involved in trade unions or lobbying government, both types were civic minded and reflect Mannheim's (1952, 184-6) argument that social groups emerge within the social process and are always in a position to either project or block new directions and idea systems. The 'private investor' utilises the civil protection and economic freedom provided by citizenship in a democratic capitalist system to consume, utilise capital and acquire

property (Saunders 1990). Saunders (1993) claims that homeowners receive rates of return on their investment that are the envy of any industrialist. The notion that citizenship and capitalism are at 'war' (Marshall 1950, Barbalet 1988) would not register with the private investor, who like the 'lifestyle renter', focuses on his individual property rights rather than the collective good (see Tocqueville 1981). The widespread distribution of housing property in Australia according to Pakulski and Waters (1996, 76) 'is not making more people powerful but is making the property a decreasing source of power.' However the ownership of well located housing property remains an obvious status symbol and capital asset.

The 'alienated tenant' does not enjoy a full 'share in the common culture' and civilisation (Marshall 1973, 92) and they do not practice any civic forms of citizenship beyond their socio-cultural connections in the local area. The 'common culture' here is based more on Jones' (1996) 'ethno-nationalistic' features and Pakulski's (1996) 'cultural citizenship' than Marshall's (1950) civil, political or social elements of citizenship. The link between the social and cultural elements of this 'static' type of citizenship was built upon compulsory public education and social welfare rights (Marshall 1973, 68). The 'homeless' citizen represents or reflects Simmel's (1950) 'outsider' or 'stranger', and perhaps Pakulski and Tranter's (1999) 'denizen' who does not enjoy the full benefits of membership and participation in the local community due to the lack of tenure security and their potential to 'wander'.

The lack of clearly defined class rather than status issues in the housing citizenship typology can be explained in terms of the 'death of class' debate. Pakulski and Waters (1996, 77) argued that 'property can no longer offer a foundation for cleavage and struggle' because the distribution of wealth and property has 'trended in a more egalitarian direction during the twentieth century' in Western countries. Pakulski and Waters (1996, 153) proposed that 'the stratification system is moving into a 'culturalist' or status conventional phase', where the dense social networks of primary groups cross-cut class boundaries and establish salient non-class divisions along regional residential, ethnic, racial and status lines. In Australia, regional residential consumption patterns, dependency on the state provision of housing assistance and the associated status issues were the main influence on civic and cultural identities and citizenship practices. While the ethno-nationalistic 'nativists', public tenants and traditional homeowners stressed the importance of being born in Australia in order to be a 'true' Australian, class, racial and gender issues were not civic or political barriers to becoming a homeowner or full citizen in Australia.

### **The typology**

I have developed six tenure related citizenship types (following Walzer 1970) in line with Marshall's (1950) civil, political and social elements, Turners' (1993) cultural, economic and political resources and Mannheim's (1952) dynamic thought styles that were all based on triadic ordering. There were three main types of property owner and



three types of renter, which I have related to a variety of civil, political, social and cultural forms of participation and membership in both the local and national community. The typology includes: the radical homebuyer and owner, the traditional buyer, the investor; the lifestyle renter; the alienated tenant; and the homeless citizen.

### **The radical homebuyer and owner**

A radical homebuyer and owner was value oriented and believed that citizens care about their community, the environment and humanity. This type of citizenship was relayed in terms of 'justice' and 'equality' with less detail concerning strategies and more emphasis on civic duty and commitments (see Marshall 1950, 1973; Winter 1994). There was a concern regarding the equal and fair distribution of goods and services. The commitment was to political and social justice typically equated with egalitarian and civil libertarian outcomes (see Marshall 1973, 70). There was frustration with budget cuts and government agendas based on economic rationalisation. The conviction that Australia had the resources to meet everyone's needs and deliver economic justice was strong. Equality could be achieved for example if Anglo-Saxon men 'shared power' with women and minority groups, who were regarded as not 'really' equal citizens because 'they received lower wages' (see Lister 1997).

There was pride over Australia's 'stand' on nuclear weapons but disappointment at the continued sale of uranium and the war in Iraq. Their argument was based on the claim

that all Australians should get 'a fair go'. Equality and education were viewed as the most important rights of citizens' (see Marshall 1973, 72). It was felt that increased government spending on social services could solve existing social problems. Political ideologies and religious doctrines, such as socialism or the Ba'hai faith, were articulated by these social types. They also provided support for an international form of citizenship based on human rights (see Turner 1993). There appeared to be a reluctance to compromise ideals or connect them with the civil and political problems related to increased taxation and the reduction of particular market based and individual freedoms. The radical homebuyer and owner felt secure in his/her home, which was a 'castle' and was willing to contribute to society via trade union membership, charitable and voluntary work.

### **The traditional buyer**

The traditional homebuyer was motivated by family formation and an ethno nationalistic type of citizenship, which was culturally conservative (see Mannheim 1952) and readily related to the Anglo heritage in Australia (see Jones 1996, 1997, 2000). The traditional type viewed citizenship in terms of loyalty and 'mateship' rather than tolerance and multiculturalism. There was a feeling that Australia should stop looking to America and Asia and develop its own 'special' culture. It was believed that migrants' valued citizenship highly, should try to "fit in", speak English and accept and support the traditional Australian virtues and way of life (see Jones 1996, 1997). It was

felt that all Australians lived in a 'lucky' country and should be proud to live here (see Horne 1964). The Australian way of life was connected to 'ideal' images of the beach and the bush (see Davison 1992).

The recognition of rights and duties was related to cultural renewal and heightened patriotism, by way of support for Australian 'folk' culture and the Army reserve.

Citizenship was also connected with solidarity, education and social services. Duties included a need to obey the law and help other Australians (see MacIntyre 1996). The ANZAC myth was evoked, and it claimed that 'only men would be affected by military service'. Rights were not considered to be under threat, while health care and the aged pension were considered to be privileges rather than rights of citizenship. There were few disadvantages associated with citizenship but there was a sense of 'isolation from the rest of the world', which related to family ties and the geographical distance from Britain.

### **The private investor**

A materialistic and consumption based type of citizenship focused on individual security and the financial benefits of capitalism, such as the high standard of living and economic prosperity (see Barbalet 1988). There was an awareness of the individual's right to vote and own property but also anxiety regarding the burden of taxation and other obligations (see Janowitz 1980). The economy, interest rates, foreign debt and

employment opportunities were of major concern. The good living standards and freedom in Australia, was compared favourably with the situation in South East Asian nations. They were considered to have achieved good living standards but experienced limited freedom and security. It was suggested that Asian countries aspired to the Australian way of life. The investors focus for community activity was limited to local issues, which effected quality of life or property values. The objective was the achievement of economic 'goodies' rather than the collective good.

An appreciation of 'good living standards' and consumption practices in Australia was the focus of this form of economic citizenship. The increased marketing of Australian goods was suggested as a way to raise the appreciation of citizenship. There was also a belief that migrants valued citizenship more than other native-born Australians. Long term residents who worked, paid tax, were law abiding and spoke English were considered to be eligible to become citizens. Social security and high living standards were considered the main privileges of citizenship. Social rights were negotiable and changes to industrial relations it was suggested would improve income levels and living standards.

### **The lifestyle renter**

The lifestyle renter 'framed' citizenship in terms of tolerance, diversity and individual freedom. This social type related citizenship to a 'multicultural society', which promoted

open-minded attitudes and 'a more interesting culture'. Rights were associated with equal opportunities, anti-discrimination, aboriginal rights and freedom of speech. There was an urbane enjoyment of the variety of foreign restaurants in the local high street. There was an awareness of the protection, which the state provided in exchange for a small amount of individual liberty (see Tocqueville 1981).

Tolerance was the most important citizenship right and a duty of liberal citizens.

Australia was considered a progressive society, which enjoyed good trade and developing artistic connections with Asia. The 'arrival' of Asian migrants was encouraged, but migrants were expected to make some cultural and political sacrifices 'to gain the full benefits of Australia' and share in the common culture (see Marshall 1950). It was not necessary for residents to become citizens; they should not be forced into it, but new residents must obey the law and help to maintain the peaceful way of life (MacIntyre 1996). The fast tracking of citizenship for successful foreign athletes was condoned, due to the social benefits that were gained from sporting success, which it has been suggested help to unite the country (see Day 1998).

### **The alienated tenant**

The alienated tenant felt financially and geographically marginalised in run down rental suburbs and broadacre public housing estates (see Randolph and Jupp 1999: ABS 2001). They were unconcerned about citizenship as a 'key marker of membership' (Heater

1990) or as a 'binding' contract but they had an interest in their individual rights (see Tilly 1997). The primary focus was on cultural ties, especially family, friends and local issues rather than national or international events. Local issues, such as the effect of crime, policing levels and welfare rights were considered to be important. Interaction with the state was mediated via the local council and local housing managers (see Pahl 1975). There was a sense of detachment and generally a lack of engagement in formal civic and political issues.

Alienated tenants 'did not think about' citizenship and 'did not know' what value other Australians place on it because they never talk about or consider it. They have little interest in politics or political parties, and their political participation was limited to voting because it was compulsory (see Walzer 1970). The right to vote was either taken for granted or considered a privilege granted by the state (see Marshall 1973, 92). There was no sense of civil, political or economic responsibility associated with citizenship. Although the unemployed were perceived to be 'well off' compared to the poor in developing countries there was a stigma attached to being poor and unemployed. They felt powerless to influence political or social change and preferred to 'mind their own business' in order to keep out of trouble. The desire to engage with family and friends was reflected in the strong cultural ties that bind public tenants to particular local communities (see Mullins and Western 2001).

One young woman reflected on the power of the media and felt the press had too much freedom and shouldn't be allowed to 'hassle people'. Vague concerns over foreign ownership and influence in Australia didn't affect consumption practices. There was an air of 'indifference' and the expectation that 'the government should work out the nation's priorities and problems'. Citizenship was not a priority; it was claimed that government should 'fix unemployment and pollution'. Government control also promoted individual safety and prevented the military from running 'amok'.

### **The homeless citizen**

The 'homeless' citizen provides an alternative or 'other' type to the tenure based citizens which was the focus of this research and is based on information gathered during interviews with people seeking community housing (see Donoghue and Tranter 2005). Homeless people remain 'outsiders' or 'strangers' (see Simmel 1950) who social housing providers 'report on' as they seek access to safe, secure, affordable housing (see Jones and Natalier 2003). However affordable housing is not readily available due to long public housing waiting lists and the collapse of low cost rental properties in the private rental market (see Wulff, Yates and Burke 2001; Yates and Wulff 2000).

The main concern of the homeless citizen was to access affordable, long term housing 'immediately' and 'anywhere', regardless of the location, condition or size of the property (see Donoghue and Tranter 2005). The 'homeless' have an urgent need for

emergency, transitional or supported accommodation but preferably near to family, friends and their children's school. The homeless were unwilling or unable to participate in formal community or political activities due to a lack of interest, confidence and security.

In the next chapter, the conclusion, I will address two important issues. First, how the research findings inform the questions posed in chapter one and the theoretical claims in chapter two. Secondly, I will identify the policy issues raised by the civic and cultural aspects of the research findings to challenge government thinking on current housing assistance and citizenship.



## Chapter Nine

### Conclusion

This thesis started by considering the politically contested nature of citizenship and has explored this issue by examining how citizenship is understood by citizens in four different housing tenures. It has been argued that by combining the rational liberal approach of Marshall with the culturally dynamic thought styles of Mannheim one can understand variations and tensions within liberalism in more detail than conservative or radical approaches in citizenship or housing studies. This concluding chapter will review these arguments and the empirical findings, discusses the theoretical framework in the light of the research findings, and relate the patterns of participation, membership and security to civic and cultural understandings of citizenship. Finally it will identify how citizens in different housing tenures related to the normative 'dream' of homeownership in the context of social housing policy innovation.

The research highlights the relationship between the state, citizenship and housing rights. The relevance of citizenship and social rights to feelings of membership, social solidarity and housing policy development in advanced societies needs to be stated and analysed. In short, the project investigated the understandings of property owning citizens involved in homeownership or purchase and citizens in private and public rental housing, charted their attitudes, activity patterns and analysed their social location. This analysis assists in identifying the benefits and tensions around the notions of 'good' (and bad) citizens and civic virtues, such as Turner's (1993) notions of civic

competence and 'active' participation in the nation state. It also addresses the question of whether or not the allocation of public housing by the state to citizens in broad acre suburbs actually promotes their membership, security and participation in the local community or further alienates them.

It is important to note that there are issues that have not been closely examined in this thesis, specifically the influence of race, gender, class and homelessness on citizenship and housing tenure. Although these issues were largely outside the orbit of this thesis I am aware and have been influenced by several accounts which focused on these issues, such as Dodson's (1996) exploration of citizenship and indigenous peoples, and Kymlicka's (1995) and Jupp's (1996) work on ethnic diversity and multicultural citizenship. Lister (1997, 2001) has reviewed both the feminist perspectives and social welfare dimensions of modern citizenship. While Barbalet (1988) provides an account of the dynamics of 'struggle' and class inequality in the development of citizenship. The way citizenship was perceived, understood and acted upon by people has been interpreted in terms of the 'consumption' of different housing tenures by Winter (1994, 60-61).

This hypothesis was stated in terms of home owners and buyer's perceptions of civil, political, social and cultural rights, which it was argued, were likely to vary from the views of renters in private and public housing. It was argued that homeowners would have more abstract images of citizenship, which were connected with conceptual issues,

in contrast to the more pragmatic images of renters who would focus on entitlements and social rights, such as income support. This proved to be flawed as my analysis of the AES (2001) data indicated that homeowners and buyers were more likely to relate citizenship to aspects of civic culture, such as a commitment to laws and institutions than people in private or public rental housing. Renters were more likely to emphasize the cultural aspects of membership in the nation, such as being born in Australia rather than focus on institutions and laws.

To recap, the research was based on three sets of guiding propositions. The first set of guiding propositions for the research were that citizens located in rental housing were more likely to have understandings of citizenship and housing rights, which differ in form and nature to the images and ideals of citizens involved in home ownership or purchase. Homeowners and buyers it was argued would comprehend citizenship more in terms of the civil and political elements of citizenship and this would be reflected in the clarity and strength of their language. In this research, the critical factor in terms of the articulation of citizenship ideals and images related more to individual's level of educational achievement rather than their housing tenure (see Lindqvist 1998, 229).

It was also argued that citizens in different housing tenures would conceptualise citizenship in terms of public and private ideals and images. Analysis of the Australian Election Survey data (AES 2001), following Jones (1996, 1997, 2000) and Pakulski and Tranter (2000), suggested that citizenship is more likely to be understood and 'practiced'

by Australian citizens in terms of civil and cultural factors rather than public or private issues, although these variables may overlap. The majority of 'civic' identifiers, related citizenship to 'feeling' Australian and respect for laws and institutions, and they were more likely to be homeowners and buyers, whereas 'cultural' identifiers, who I termed 'nativists' (see Jones 1996) were more likely to be renters, and related citizenship to being born in and living most of one's life in Australia.

In the second proposition I proposed that the mobilisation of citizenship images and ideals would vary along two main dimensions, suggested by Turner (1990, 1993) in terms of active or passive membership in the local community, and in the form of civil & political or social & cultural participation. Mannheim (1952, 189) was introduced in order to utilise his 'dynamic and static' views of social reality, which overcomes the casual association of an 'active' political citizen with a 'good' citizen, and the notion that the politically passive were 'bad' citizens or 'denizens'. Citizens were engaged in the community in a variety of civil, political, economic, social and cultural activities that were not deemed to be 'equal' in merit following Aristotle's (1964) ordering of political participation as the highest form of citizenship.

The images, ideals and understandings of citizenship described by Tasmanians involved in both homeownership and rental housing were complementary rather than contradictory or clearly differentiated in terms of coherent tenure based groupings. Citizens in a variety of housing tenures share a common desire to enjoy the 'freedoms'

available to Australians. They differed subtly in terms of their emphasis, public renters tended to focus on cultural connections and were more likely to stress 'blood' or family ties, while home owners focused on the core of Marshall's citizenship the 'rule of law' and importance of public institutions (see MacIntyre 1996; Brubaker 1992). As Winter (1994, 66) argued with regard to homeowners in Victoria, 'housing tenure is only one aspect of the formation of ... social groups.' Employment, education and welfare factors impact on the variety of economic, political and cultural resources available to citizens. I would argue that citizenship is a contested concept (see Lister 1997, 3) and the practice of citizenship emerges from the interaction between the cultural and civic constructions of citizens' entitlements, rights and duties.

The prospect of citizenship divisions becoming conflictual, especially at a group level (see Wearing 1981), appeared limited and were related mainly in terms of individual expectations with regard to social benefits, neighbours behaviour or in terms of the 'stigma' attached to an individual or suburb with a concentration of public housing, such as Gagebrook and Clarendon Vale (see ABS 2001) . Generally tenure based differences were not typified by a simple 'private' owner and 'public' tenant divide, they were more subtle, overlapping and complex. There were noticeable differences between homeowners (55%) and homebuyers (80%) in terms of 'claims' regarding past participation in community and voluntary work, which requires more research. While homeowners wanted to give something back to the community having attained

ownership, homebuyers were focused on the pursuit of ownership which entailed attention to work and sport rather than charitable activities.

Public tenants and homeowners experienced high levels of tenure based security and housing affordability. However there were major differences in the way that they participated in a range of community activities. Homeowners were more likely to participate in formal community groups, like charities and the arts, whereas public tenants engaged in family and informal pursuits, for example having a coffee or game of cards with the neighbours, rather than involvement in formal charitable or sporting activities (Jones 1996, 1997; Pakulski and Tranter 2000).

The third set of research propositions concerned the opportunities provided and undertaken by renters and owners to participate in their local community. Increased demands by the state on unemployed citizens to participate in 'mutual obligation' projects that were 'intended' to break the cycle of long-term 'dependency' and promote a sense of social solidarity (FACS 2000). However, the compulsive nature of government 'work ready' schemes contrast with the time and energy that was committed voluntarily by parents, to community activities centred on neighbourhood houses and children's school and sporting activities. Social housing tenants with children were much more likely to escape the isolation experienced by single and older citizens who often felt alienated in public housing estates because they were not bound into the economic or social life of the local community or school.

Older men indicated that they would move from their affordable and secure public housing to expensive and insecure private rental housing in order to reconnect with family and friends. In terms of policy development government could improve their housing outcomes by the 'sensitive' allocation of public housing properties (see Burke and Hulse 2003). The sensitive allocation of public housing considers the specific social and cultural needs of the applicant in order to achieve a successful long term housing outcome. It requires responsive planning beyond the expedient desire to house the next applicant on the waiting list 'anywhere' that a property became available. It recognises that long term housing provision needs to set the tenant up to 'succeed' and this is more likely to occur in an area where they have the support of friends and family. Cultural and family connections can bind people into the local community and are more likely to promote a greater sense of membership, participation and security. Therefore, public housing policy needs to be sensitive to the cultural needs and limited resources of disadvantaged citizens.

### **The limitations of existing approaches to citizenship**

In chapter two, I argued that the relationship between citizenship and housing tenure could be explored by combining the theoretical work of Marshall (1950, 1972, 1973), Mannheim (1927, 1928, 1929) and Turner (1990, 1993). I developed the argument that the relationship between citizenship and housing tenure could be explained by

combining Marshall's two readings of citizenship with Mannheim's (1952, 1972) political 'thought styles' from the sociology of knowledge, which provided the dynamic dimensions of social reality to supplement and overcome the modernist, liberal rationality in Marshall and negative liberal associations implied in Turner's (1990) 'active' and 'passive' approach.

The theoretical chapter argued that housing tenure can be interpreted by combining Marshall's (1973, 110) modern readings of citizenship which suggests that citizenship implies equality but "operates as an instrument of social stratification" with Mannheim's sociology of knowledge which mobilised three 'thought styles' to explain its different meanings, practices and political dimensions. Mannheim's (1952) thought styles were elaborated to demonstrate that market liberalism is based on the individual; socialism is based on collective relations; and conservatism is based on the family and culture. In terms of housing tenure I argued that public tenants and some private renters were more likely to exhibit what Mannheim would regard as conservative cultural practices, which I have termed a 'nativistic' approach to citizenship. Half the homeowners and buyers were more likely to demonstrate 'collective' or radical concerns at a formal civic level, which included participation in charitable organisations and trade unions. While the rest of the home buyers and to a lesser extent the private renters were in the middle of the citizenship continuum as they were more likely to cite market based liberal concerns that related to the pursuit of individual security and freedom.



I used this theoretical collaboration to reassess recent political themes in Australian housing policy supporting homeownership and private rental housing assistance. I demonstrated that the government promotion of market based solutions such as homeownership and private rental housing has accentuated the 'divide' between owners and renters, because it undermines the equality and cohesion implicit in notions of modern citizenship. The problem for government remains Marshallian (1973, 69-92) as disadvantaged and socially marginalised citizens still require "a share in the social heritage" to promote a sense of membership, integration and "loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession". I would have to agree with Jones (2000, 184) who suggests that a greater sense of unity in culturally diverse societies is "best achieved by a fuller implementation of individual social rights in education, health, housing and employment".

In policy terms the federal government's promotion of the First Homebuyer's Scheme and Commonwealth Rent Assistance (CRA) for citizens in home purchase and private rental may not 'deepen' the quality of local community life. The promotion of market-based housing assistance may actually inflate the market price of rental stock and reinforce individualism rather than increase the 'public good', as levels of civic participation and feeling of membership and security in local communities are blunted. Of course there are other factors that influence the power of housing tenures to enhance the quality of community life. As Winter (1998, 66) suggests there are political,

economic and cultural dimensions of social inequality that are reflected in the location and type of housing rather than being caused by housing tenures. At a state government level State Housing Authorities (SHA) have long recognised the need to reduce the high levels of public housing and concentration of disadvantaged citizens in outer suburbs. Housing Tasmania (2004) has promoted the utilisation of innovative strategies to develop 'new' public housing in 'mixed' tenure suburbs. However, the main issue for disadvantaged citizens on a low income was the continuing decline in the supply of affordable housing due a lack of Commonwealth and private capital investment in social housing (see Berry 2003).

### **Marshall, Manheim and citizenship**

The theoretical chapter posed two important questions: is a theory of housing and citizenship necessary and what explanatory power do Marshall and Mannheim bring to this research? The basic ingredients of modern citizenship outlined by Marshall (1950, 1973) related to three specific elements: civil, political and social rights. These three elements allow individual citizens to participate in the affairs of the modern democratic nation-state. In his second tripartite model Marshall (1972, 1981) wrote about the 'value problems' in welfare-capitalism and the inconsistencies between capitalism, democracy and welfare in the 'hyphenated society'. I would argue that Marshall's theory of citizenship has endured because of his inclusion of unresolved tensions and contradictions in society which later writers on citizenship have exploited. Marshall

(1981) imbued citizenship with a cultural aura in his second model, following Parsons (1977), and suggested that the civil/capitalist, political/democratic and social/welfare moments were co-present rather than successive stages. The problem Marshall faced was to how to reconcile his inclusion of the cultural and collective effects of citizenship with the economic individualism in his liberal analytical framework. Parsons (1973) also recognised the problem of cultural rights and the role of compulsory education in the development of social capital. He recommended the extension of higher education to increase social solidarity in the United States.

By introducing Mannheim in the theoretical section of the thesis I highlighted the triadic dynamics and contested nature of Aristotle's (1964) conceptualisation of 'participation' as primarily political, and Marshall's sense of 'membership' in terms of modern liberal citizenship. The conflicting principles of liberalism, socialism and conservatism were stressed in order to make explicit the nature of debates over the meaning and practice of citizenship. Mannheim's work reminds the reader that something is lost if one form of political rationality is privileged in the theorizing of citizenship. Triadic orderings also allowed me to model the differences between civic, cultural and individualistic approaches to citizenship, because as Marshall (1973: 122) observed conflicting principles arise 'from the very roots of our social order.' Citizenship can be regarded as the effect of three types of 'thought-style:' the individual and calculating rationality of liberalism (the economic), the emotional sharing of symbols of conservatism (the cultural), and the dialectical rationality of collective action (the political). As both a

concept and a practice citizenship emerges from the interaction between these three 'thought styles' for the national resources available to citizens (see Turner 1993). This theoretical position restores the political interaction that Marshall had first suggested in his hyphenated model of citizenship, and then pre-empted in his second model.

Marshall (1950, 1973) also provides a link between the liberal view of citizenship and the relevance of housing tenure in the political debate. He (1973, 101) argued that the state is obliged to provide a 'guaranteed minimum' supply of certain essential goods and services (such as medical attention, shelter and education) to citizens who do not have the resources to purchase them. For Marshall (1973, 102) the critical factor in the expansion of social services was not related to income equalisation, as the middle classes gain more benefit from universal services, such as health, than the disadvantaged who are unable, or not required to pay for health services.

What matters is that there is a general enrichment of the concrete substance of civilised life, a general reduction of risk and insecurity, an equalisation between the more and the less at all levels - between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active (Marshall 1973, 102).

The abatement of class or social inequalities is based on the legal and political rights of citizens. However, Marshall (1973, 104) suggests that the 'rights of citizens cannot be precisely defined'. The qualitative element is too great, the expectations and competing

claims by citizens, according to Marshall (1973) have to be balanced by the state. For Marshall (1973, 105) the 'obligation of the State is towards the needs of society as a whole ...instead of individual citizens', and the 'maintenance of a fair balance between collective and individual elements in social rights is a matter of vital importance.'

Successive Commonwealth governments in Australia since 1996 have promoted homeownership in Australia to 'deepen the quality of community life' and it appears from this research that it was the homeowners rather than the homebuyers were more likely to promote the 'collective good'. Homebuyers were more likely to focus on work, union and sporting activities. The pay off for government in terms of increased levels of formal civic participation (rather than electoral support) may be in the long term, when homebuyers have paid off their property and over twenty five years 'evolved' into 'charitable' homeowners. My research suggests that homebuyers were evenly split between those who relate to market based aspects of citizenship and those who were collective union members, in contrast to homeowners who exhibit higher levels of charitable engagement, while public tenants were more likely to demonstrate an 'ethnic' or cultural interpretation of citizenship (see Jones 1997, 2000).

According to Greg (1995), full time employment and homeownership were two normative expectations in post war Australia. Homeownership and work were equated with a sense of security and full membership in the local community. Now homeownership has become more of an 'aspiration' and less of a reality due in part to

the post millennium property boom. Normative expectations also have a negative aspect, which implies that renters and the unemployed are dysfunctional, especially public housing tenants who have been stigmatised as 'second class citizens'. Public tenants stated that they resent this stigmatisation and during the research several public tenants indicated that they did not tell potential employers or new friends where they lived due to the negative images associated with their suburb and a fear of rejection.

Governments of all persuasions have found that support for homeownership and the domestic building industry can be useful in stimulating the domestic economy. This micro-economic tinkering remains central to Coalition policy on homeownership (e.g. Howard 2001). Of course critics of homeownership, like Kemeny (1993) claim that the over investment in homeownership has reduced the net amount of domestic capital that could be invested in Australian industry. The meaning of homeownership is also imbued with all the uncertainty between individual ownership and different senses of communal belonging (see Lindqvist 1998). This suggests a second issue: the social and civic implications of homeownership, or what Troy (2000) called the level of citizen competence that it entails. The participatory face of the liberal ideal or 'thought style' is clear in Howard's aim to 'deepen' the quality of our community life (see Howard 1999). He appeals to the notions of an interactive community and echoes Menzies, who designed his homeownership policy to produce a 'patriotic, co-operative and cohesive society' (Troy 2000: 718). While a certain amount of evidence does link homeownership and levels of civic or communal participation in Britain (Saunders 1990, 1993), other

researchers have warned against the 'easy' association of homeownership with "responsible citizenship, social stability and industrial peace" (Winter 1994: 6).

Further more, I would agree with Harrison (1991) who suggests that the liberal focus on the private provision of services, such as housing, health and education, may help to erode citizenship benefits for disadvantaged people while enhancing it for others. This appears to be the case in Australia as outright homeowners may well have a greater focus on formal civic participation than people in other housing tenures while homebuyers were more likely to be active in professional and union organisations, due to the necessity of paying off the mortgage, rather than engaging with charitable and church organisations to benefit the local community. Another critic of the market based liberal social policy agenda, Brennan (1998, 39), claims the "new orthodoxy is not about redistribution or the elimination of poverty". Governments in advanced societies are changing the form and content of the relationship between the state and citizens.

The desire of politicians and policy makers to promote greater levels of home ownership may be based on the belief that there is both a political and social payoff in homeownership, which will translate into votes and increased levels of formal civic participation in local communities. However, there is some doubt according to Troy (2000) regarding the political payoff for the Coalition in promoting homeownership, as homeowners appear just as likely to vote for the opposition (see McAllister 1984; Donoghue, Tranter and White 2003). The idea that homebuyers are more likely to be

active citizens than renters, with higher levels of civic participation and membership in local community organisations appears to be misplaced. Homebuyers appear to be focused on the accumulation of domestic capital, sport and school activities rather than the greater good of the local community.

## **Empirical findings**

A diversity of legitimate formal and informal types of engagement was to be found within the civil, political, social and cultural elements of modern citizenship. The strongest finding was that understandings of citizenship vary subtly according to tenure. The form and nature of citizenship also varies from formal civic or collective engagement to informal cultural and family based activities, they are all valid and important aspects of citizenship. Analysis of the AES 2001 data suggests that people in different housing tenures were likely to practice citizenship in a number of different ways. Private renters were just as likely to be active in a range of 'artistic, musical and educational' clubs as people in other housing tenures even though they experienced less tenure based security. However, this may well reflect high levels of educational achievement and lifestyle choices by mobile professionals in private rental. While homebuyers were more likely to be active in professional, work related associations and unions than citizens in other housing tenures.



The state's neo liberal focus on market based solutions such as the purchase of housing and provision of rental assistance rather than the capital investment in the construction or purchase of social housing has been reassessed. This research suggests that the link Howard (1999) claims between buying a stake in the country and a 'deepening' of community engagement is open to question. Half the homebuyers were 'too busy' working full time to pay off the mortgage or looking after the kids to engage with the local community in charitable organisations. Private renters were 'detached' from the local community due in part to their lack of tenure-based security, lack of membership and increased mobility. While public tenants enjoyed tenure security and had well-developed informal cultural networks with family, friends and neighbours in the local area they were less willing (or able) to engage in formal civic and sporting activities due to a perceived lack of civic competence (see Turner 1993, Troy 2000). These findings challenge Howard's (1999) and Saunders (1993) claims regarding civic participation, specifically in regard to the split between homebuyers and in terms of private renters, and suggest that the nature of civic, cultural and political forms of participation requires further research. The next section will review three of the major empirical findings.

#### a) Good citizens

Good Australian citizens were generally considered to be fair, helpful and honest people. To a lesser degree they were viewed as tolerant, friendly and easy going. Homeowners focused on the rational civil and social attributes of citizenship such as

upholding and obeying the law and contributing to society (see Marshall 1950).

Homebuyers suggested that good citizens were hard working, tax paying, and educated people who were not receiving unemployment benefit, which suggests an economic or resource focus (see Turner 1993). In contrast renters claimed that good citizens were more down to earth people who were willing to "have a go, were no different to them and appreciated Australia", a more cultural approach (see Mannheim 1922). My interpretation is that people in different housing tenures stressed important tenure related characteristics, which corresponded with Mannhemian 'thought styles' in terms of the emphasis on collective interests by homeowners and half the buyers, market based activities by the rest of the homebuyers and some private renters, and on cultural issues by public tenants.

#### b) Housing Rights

For Marshall (1973, 88) "a property right is not a right to possess property, but a right to acquire it, if you can, and to protect it, if you can get it." The ownership of housing was regarded, across all housing tenures, to be the 'strongest' housing right because it provided people with 'a real sense of security'. Home ownership provided 'more rights than renting' and meant there are 'no real estates to deal with'. Three male homeowners appeared preoccupied with the 'right to defend their property', the 'protection of their property' and the 'right to exclude people' from their property.

Property owners generally felt secure and had 'no trouble' 'worked together' with their neighbours and felt 'protected by the council and laws'.

The main benefits of social housing compared with private rental were that it was affordable and secure. Public tenants (95%) felt they had the right to stay in their property for life and the right to 'complain' if there was a problem. Public tenants understood that there were 'laws and regulations' related to their housing and that they could appeal decisions. Public tenants like homeowners and homebuyers enjoyed the benefits of what Marshall (1950) considered the foundation of citizenship and freedom, 'the rule of law'. In contrast, many private renters (35%) considered themselves to be insecure and at the mercy of real estate agents and market forces beyond their control or government regulation.

### c) Membership in the community

Marshall (1950, 28) defined citizenship as "a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community". While 'membership' may be formally or procedurally specified, 'community' has all the vagueness of both its popular and social scientific usage. Respondents related the strength of their interpersonal relationships, feeling of acceptance and the length of time spent in the area as a good indicator of their level of identification with and sense of membership in the local community. In addition to these strong feelings of membership the majority of homeowners (75%), buyers (80%)

and public tenants (65%) suggested that they felt like a member of the community because they were involved in the local school, local sport or a community group.

Putnam (2001, 284) suggested that levels of civic disengagement in America (prior to 9/11) could be explained in terms of constraints caused by: work, urban sprawl, watching television, generational change and new forms of association, such as soccer and the internet. Only 20% of homebuyers did not feel like a member of their local community and that was because they were working long or unusual hours which disrupted interaction patterns and detached them from the 'normal' affairs of the local community. Work could also disrupt residential patterns and required people to move house and lease properties in areas which they had no friends or family.

Apart from time constraints due to work and family commitments people provided one of three other reasons why they did not feel a part of their local community. These responses included individuals who choose not to engage in the local community, those who could not interact due to constraints caused by unemployment, ill health or old age and those who wanted to get involved but were 'new' to the local community and had not yet made a connection.

Private renters (45%) seemed less connected to their local community than people in the three other housing tenures. They often didn't know anyone in the area, wanted to keep to themselves or had not made an effort to get to know people or join local clubs and

organisations. There was an indication that private renters and older and public housing tenants felt isolated, like 'strangers' in the local community. The Commonwealth government department and State Housing Authorities responsible for allocating rent assistance and public housing would do well to take this finding on board in order to promote stronger communities (see FACS 2000).

#### d) The 'dream' of Homeownership

The final research question was to try and ascertain if people in rental properties still want to buy their own home and why? The short answer is yes. The majority of private (80%) and public housing (60%) renters still want to own their own property for the 'sense of security' it provides, in order to 'stop paying rent' and to have an asset, which they can 'pass on' to the children. The barriers to homeownership were generally related to affordability issues such the capacity to buy and the cost of housing rates, taxes and maintenance.

Affordability constraints (see Yates 2001) were regarded by many public and private renters as the main 'barrier' to achieving home ownership. Public tenants felt that they enjoyed some of the major benefits of home ownership, security of tenure and affordability, without the responsibility of paying rates and undertaking maintenance. The cost of buying a house, plus rates, taxes and maintenance costs made home ownership unaffordable and unattractive for citizens on a government pension or

benefit. Some long-term public housing tenants indicated that they could only buy a house if they won the lottery, which suggests that homeownership still remains a 'dream' for disadvantaged citizens. According to Troy (2000) the potential for growth in home ownership rates in Australia is limited. Only citizens who are currently in the private rental market due to lifestyle choice, or delayed family formation and low-income earners eligible for the First Home Buyers scheme would be in the market for an affordable property.

In Singapore home ownership rates are 90%, which is over 20% higher than in Australia due to the government's 'Home Ownership for the people Scheme' (see Tan 1994). This scheme was aimed at the low and middle income groups who were renting government flats and was developed using government sanctioned work based savings and low interest loans. Perhaps Australian policy makers need to study the Asian housing experience in order to escape the shortcomings of Anglo-centric policy development.

## **Conclusion and further research**

Australian citizenship is a complex concept with formal and informal elements (see Lister 1997, 146-1471) that entail civil, economic, political and cultural practices. In essence people understood citizenship in terms of the place they were born, where they live and in terms of their national identity. Citizenship is also understood in relation to the rights that citizens enjoy, including a range of freedoms, safety and security.

Australian citizenship was connected with important political rights such as voting, freedom of speech, and feelings of pride because Australia was a 'lucky country' compared to other places (see Horne 1966). Citizenship was considered to be 'important' (see Civic Experts Group 1994), however 'citizenship' was also a term or concept that a minority of people had not thought about before or acted upon. There was a feeling that rapid social and global changes had somehow 'eroded' Australian citizenship (see Turner 2001). Even though 'ethno nationalistic' or 'nativist' public housing renters felt there are too many foreigners in Australia (see Pakulski and Tranter 2000), the majority of respondents were sure that it was still the best place in the world to live.

There are gaps in the thesis including the roll of civic education, socio-cultural change and the migrant experience over the past fifty years. It is worth noting that there are several texts relating to these issues that have influenced the development of my thesis including MacIntyre's (1996) discussion of citizenship in terms of education. The work of another historian Davidson (1997) is important because it considered the changing nature of Australian citizenship in the twentieth century from subjects to citizens, while Castles and Davidson (2002) examined citizenship in terms of the development of national identity, as does Jones' (1996, 1997, 2000). Apart from these research areas there is the question of empirical research that could be undertaken in the future. Obviously, a more representative study of citizenship in terms of citizens' attitudes and practices in different housing tenures could be undertaken using in-depth qualitative research

methods, such as face-to-face interviews, or focus groups and self-administered questionnaires. In terms of citizenship research the two questions posed by Davis (1996, 267) remain relevant: first 'why are some migrants to Australia, though eligible, reluctant or disinclined to take out Australian citizenship?' Second, 'why do some migrants to Australia who wish to become Australian citizens, also wish to hold on to the citizenship of their country of origin' and become 'dual citizens?'

The use of a small telephone sample in Tasmania allowed the researcher to gain insights into the meaning and nature of community participation and membership although it did not allow me to generalise the findings to the national population. The quantitative findings were reliable, and increased the scope and utility of the research. Overall the fit between the research methods was good. The qualitative questions built upon the quantitative chapter and focused the reader on the 'tangled' cultural attitudes and subtle civic practices of citizens. This thesis is a starting point in terms of research into citizenship practices and housing tenures rather than a conclusion. There is a need for further research focused on the 'claimed' past and current participation differences between homeowners and homebuyers, and between private and public renters with regard to their levels of civic participation, membership and security in the local and national community.

Further research should take into account recent academic work by Lister (2001) and Isin (2002), which reflect the ongoing debates of about the meaning and function of



citizenship in relation to gender, community welfare and political identity. I would argue that the most interesting feature of this thesis is the combination of Marshall and Mannheim's work, which provides the researcher with a dynamic conceptual framework with which to undertake substantive and political studies of community membership and civic participation. If Marshall (1950, 1972) had developed his models of citizenship in terms of Mannheim's different ways of seeing and knowing that are related to particular ways of life, or 'thought styles', he would have developed a more complex and robust political account of the development of modern citizenship.

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**Questionnaire: The relationship between housing and citizenship rights**

Introduction

Hello, my name is Jed Donoghue.

I am a Ph.D. student undertaking some research for my thesis. May I speak to a person in this house who is an Australian citizen and is aged 18 years or more?

Hello, my name is Jed Donoghue and I am a Ph.D. student with the University of Tasmania. I am undertaking some research for my Ph.D. thesis. Please don't tell me your name or any personal information, as that is not required. Do you have a moment for me to explain the reason for my call?

Perhaps I could call back at a more convenient time?

I am trying to explore what people understand by the term 'citizenship', and how people's views might reflect their different housing arrangements - whether they are 'renters', 'homeowners' etc. This will involve asking you about your views and values on these issues. Would you be prepared to be interviewed on this subject - Your participation would be entirely voluntary and very much appreciated - the interview would last approximately 30 minutes.

You can stop or opt-out of the interview at any time. Would you like to take down my number or contact the Chair of the Ethics Committee, Dr. Janet Vial (6226 4842) or the Secretary (6226 2763) if you have any problem with the research? You also have a choice with regard to the information sheet associated with this telephone interview. I can read you the information or mail it to your address. All personal information will remain confidential i.e. your name or anything that can identify you will not be written down and I am happy to answer any questions you may have prior to, during or after the interview.

Thank you.

**First I would like to get some demographic details i.e. your gender, age, citizenship, where you live and where you were born.**

Can I just check that you are an Australian citizen, and aged 18 or over?

If NOT - explain that the study is specifically about AUSTRALIAN citizenship and housing, so you won't need to bother them

- 1.1 What is your age group?  
18-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-49  
50-54 55-59 60-64 65-69 70-74 75-79 80-84 85+



- 1.2 And your gender/sex Male / Female
- 1.3 Your Post code \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.4 And Suburb \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.5 What is your current marital status?  
Single / De facto / Married / Divorced / Separated / Other
- 1.6 Number of children 1 2 3 4 5+
- 1.7 Place of Birth: Australia / NZ / UK / Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.8 What 'culture' do you identify with?  
Australia / Aboriginal / British / NZ / European / Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.9 What language do you use at home? English / NESB / Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 1.10 What is your highest level of education?  
Y10 / Y11 / Y12 / College / TAFE / University
- 1.11 Do you identify with any 'class'?  
Working / Middle / Upper / None
- 1.12 Are you currently employed? Yes / No  
[If NO, go to Q 1.15]
- 1.13 If YES: Is it FULL TIME, PART TIME, CONTRACT, CASUAL, OTHER
- If YES: What is your main occupation
- 
- If NO: What line of work would you normally be in
- 
- 1.16: What is your main income source?  
Salary / Wage / Newstart / DSP / PPS / YA / Austudy / Other

## 2.0 Now, some questions relating to your living circumstances

How long have you lived in this property? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you RENT, or OWN, this home? RENT / OWN / OTHER

[If OWN, go to Q 2.7]  
[If OTHER, go to Q2.8]  
If RENT - Is it Private - Public - Community - Other?

IF RENT - Would you like to own your own home? Yes / No / DK  
[If NO, go to Q 2.6]

If YES - Why would you like to own your home?

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If NO (don't want to Own, own home) - Why not?

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2.7 If OWN - do you own your home outright or with a mortgage?  
Outright / Mortgage

2.8 If OTHER - how would you describe your housing situation?

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**3.0 I would now like to discuss Australian citizenship with you:**

3.1 In your view, what does it mean to be an Australian citizen?

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3.2 Do you think there are advantages being an Australia citizen?

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3.3 What do you think are the main advantages?

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3.4 Are there any disadvantages being an Australian citizen?

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3.5 If YES: What are they?

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4.0 I would like to get your views on the benefits that Australian citizens enjoy

4.1 Are there any particular benefits you associate with Australian citizenship?

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4.2 Are there any other rights or privileges you associate with being a citizen?

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4.3 Are there any obligations you associate with being a citizen?

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4.4 Are there any other duties or responsibilities you associate with being a citizen?

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---

4.5 Are there any sacrifices you may have to make by being an Australian citizen?

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5.0 Can we talk about the value you place on Australian citizenship?

5.1

Do you feel proud to be an Australian citizen?

Yes / No

5.2

If YES - what things make you feel proud to be a citizen of Australia?

5.3

Are there things you are not proud of as an Australian citizen?

5.4

What value do you think other Australians place on their citizenship?

5.5

Should people place MORE value on their citizenship, or LESS?

5.6

Why is that?

5.7

What could be done to increase the appreciation of Australian citizenship? Can you give me some examples please?

6.0

What about acquiring Australian citizenship:

6.1

Should all people who come to live in Australia become citizens?

6.2

Do you think you have to be born in Australia to be a true Australian citizen?

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6.3     Should you have to speak English to become an Australian citizen?

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6.4     Is there anyone who shouldn't become an Australian citizen?

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6.5     Why is that?

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6.6     What do you think are the characteristics of a good Australian citizen?

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6.7     Can you give an example of someone you think is a good Australian citizen? Can you name someone who is a good citizen?

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6.8     Do you think MOST Australians are good citizens?

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**7.0     Before, we talked about the benefits of being an Australian citizen. Now I would like to get your views on citizen's rights**

7.1     Do you feel that Australian citizens have particular rights?                      Yes / No / DK

7.2     If we have rights, what do you think are the most important ones?

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7.3     Are any rights that you think are under threat in Australia?                      Yes / No / DK

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7.4     If YES, which rights do you think are under threat, and by whom?

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7.5     What rights do you have in relation to housing?

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Do you feel these rights provide you with a secure home? Yes / No / DK  
[If YES, go to Q7.8]

7.7     If NO, why not?

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7.8     If YES, how do they provide security?

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7.9     Is your housing affordable? Yes / No / DK / NA

7.10    Is your housing appropriate for your needs? Yes / No / NA

7.11    Do you have friends or family in the local community? Yes / No / Other

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8.0 Too finish, I would like to ask about your level of participation in the local community

8.1 Do you feel like a member of your local community? Yes / No / DK  
[If NO, go to Q8.3]

8.2 If YES: why?

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8.3 If NO: why not?

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8.4 Can you tell me why you live in this particular area?

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8.5 Would you prefer to live somewhere else? Yes / No / DK / NA

8.6 If YES: where would you prefer to live and why?

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8.7 Have you ever been involved in any voluntary or community work?  
Yes / No / DK / NA  
[If NO, go to Q8.9]

8.8 If YES: what sort of work was it?

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8.9 If NO: any particular reason why not?

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8.10 Are you involved with the local neighbourhood watch, the local school or a sporting club?  
Yes / No / DK  
[If No, go to Q 8.12]

8.11 If YES: what type of group is it?

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8.12 If NO: any particular reason why you are not involved in such a group?

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8.13 Are you involved with a local Church or charitable group? Yes / No

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8.14 What do you think are the benefits of participating in the local community?

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8.15 Are there any disadvantages to participating in the local community?

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8.16 Are you a member of a political party, trade union or local community group?  
Yes / No  
[If NO, go to Q8.18]

8.17 If YES: Is it a political party, trade union or community group?

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8.18 If NO: any particular reason why not?

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8.19 Have you contacted the local council, state or federal politicians or the media on any matter in the past 12 months? Yes / No

8.20 Have you participated in any neighbourhood, political or community activity in the last 12 months? Yes / No  
[If NO, go to Q8.22]

8.21 If YES: can you tell me about it?  
E.g. Signed a petition, boycotted products, raised funds, other?

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8.22 If NO: any particular reason why you haven't participated in one of these areas?

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Well those are all my questions. Can I answer any questions for you?

Thank you very much for taking part in this interview. The information you have provided will be very helpful in developing a better understanding of the relationship between housing and citizenship rights.

Should you need any further information or have any concerns about this interview you are welcome to contact my supervisor Dr Natalie Jackson on 6226 2943, or myself, through her.

Thank you

**HUMAN RESEARCH  
ETHICS COMMITTEE  
UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA**

**APPLICATION: INVESTIGATION INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS**  
**INVESTIGATION NUMBER (Office use)**

**Title of proposed investigation**  
Citizenship on the Margins: social housing and social rights in Australia.  
The social glue that fails to bind

**Outline of Proposal**  
An empirical analysis of the views of financially dependent citizens in social housing and independent home owners in relation to citizenship rights in Australia.

<b>Applicants Title/Name</b>	<b>Position</b>	<b>School or Discipline</b>
Natalie Jackson	Lecturer	Sociology and Social work
Jan Pakulski	Professor	Sociology and Social work
Jed Donoghue	Ph.D. candidate	Sociology and Social work

**Contact details for chief investigator**  
Dr. Natalie Jackson, School of Sociology  
University of Tasmania, Box 252C, Hobart 7001.

Phone (03) 62 262 338  
Fax (03) 62 262 279  
Email Natalie.Jackson@utas.edu.au

**Purpose**  
The research will assess the power of social rights to integrate marginalised citizens in the local community and nation state. It will analyse the extent to which housing tenure, local participation and employment bind people into the local community and effect individual life chances.

**Aims**  
The project will clarify the strength of understandings of social rights and duties among social housing tenants and homeowners. It will examine and explain the pattern of understandings in relation to key elements of social rights: income, education, health, housing and transport. It will identify the opportunities and challenges for citizens in social housing and homeownership.

**Justification**  
The research propositions are derived from theoretical constructs, which will be tested against the data collected in interviews, qualitative analysis and government policy papers. In doing this I propose to fill a gap in the housing and citizenship literature and

identify any community tension around the notion of citizenship rights and civic virtue.

**Period of investigation**

Commencement	Completion
November 2001	December 2002

**Funding**

Source/potential source of funding and amount:

NO

Do the investigators have any financial interest in this project?

NO

**Review of ethical considerations**

Has this protocol previously been submitted to the University Ethics Committee?

NO

Does this project need the approval of any other Ethics Committee?

NO

**Relevant references**

NOT REQUIRED

**B. PROCEDURES**

**Where is this project to be conducted?**

Hobart

**SUBJECTS**

**Selection of subjects**

Subjects will be randomly selected from the telephone book. Subjects will be filtered on the basis of their citizenship status and housing tenure using a structured interview schedule, which is attached.

**Recruitment of subjects**

Subjects will be contacted by telephone and invited to participate in the project. Subjects will be informed that participation is voluntary, and that the recorded data will be unidentifiable. If they agree to take part in the research they will be interviewed by telephone. If they wish to see the questionnaire or information sheet first, these will be sent out and a convenient time organised for the telephone interview to take place.

**Information about subjects**

(i) State whether information will be identified, potentially identifiable or unidentified. Subjects will be given a code number. Their phone number and name will not be entered on the questionnaire. Thus, although identifiable to the interviewer at the time of contact, the recorded information will not be identifiable.

**(ii) State source(s) of information.**

Information will be supplied by subjects and recorded by Jed Donoghue.

**(iii) Will data on individual subjects be obtained from any Commonwealth Government agency?**

NO

**Potential risks**

NONE

**Post contact**

Available via Supervisor Natalie Jackson School

Scholl of Sociology and Social Work University of Tasmania, BOX 252C, Hobart 7001.

**Remuneration**

Nil

**Confidentiality and anonymity**

All information will be coded and remain confidential in order to ensure all subjects are ensured anonymity.

**Administration of substances/agents**

NO

**Human tissue or body fluid sampling**

NO

**Other ethical issues**

NO

**Information sheet**

Attached

**Consent form**

Not required

C. DECLARATIONS

Statement of scientific merit

The Head of School\* is required to sign the following statement:  
This proposal has been considered and is sound with regard to its merit and methodology.

(Name of Head of School)

(Signature)

(Date)

(Name of chief investigator)      Dr. Natalie Jackson

(Signature)

(Date)

Signatures of other investigators

(Name)                                  Prof. Jan Pakulski

(Signature)

(Date)

(Name)                                  Jed Donoghue

(Signature)

(Date)

INFORMATION SHEET

This research is a part of the Ph D project on 'Citizenship on the Margins: social housing and social rights' from the School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania. It is supervised by Dr. Natalie Jackson, School of Sociology and Social work, University of Tasmania.

The project involves brief telephone interviews with social housing tenants and homeowners. No personal details will be sought in the interviews. The main focus is on the perceptions of housing and citizenship rights. Interviews will take approximately 30 minutes and focus on questions set down in a questionnaire. All records (including interview transcripts) are confidential. They will be accessible only to the researchers and used only for the purposes of the analysis.

If you need any other information concerning the research or the researchers, please do not hesitate to contact Dr. Natalie Jackson at the School of Sociology and Social Work, University of Tasmania, Box 252C, Hobart Tas. 7001; phone (03) 202338; fax (03) 202279; Email: Natalie.Jackson@utas.edu.au

CHECKLIST

- 1. Please ensure that the following documents are included with your application:
    - Ô Draft information sheet: attached
    - Ô Draft consent form: not applicable
    - Draft questionnaire: attached
    - Draft interview schedule: not applicable
  - 2. Has the 'Statement of Scientific Merit' been signed?
  - 3. Have all investigators signed the form?
-

Table A.1: First letter of surname by number of calls

First letter of surname	Number of calls
A	21
B	16
C	21
D	15
E	14
F	40
G	50
H	54
I	25
J	81
K	22
L	67
M	101
N	54
O	38
P	43
Q	7
R	62
S	6
T	5
U	3
V	5
W	16
X	1
Y	2
Z	1
Total	770

**Table A.2: Housing tenure by number of participants and suburb**

<b>Public Housing</b>  1 x Bridgewater 1 x Berridale 1 x Chigwell 1 x Clarendon Vale 1 x Coles Bay 8 x Gagebrook 1 x Kingston 1 x Lenah Valley 3 x Rokeby 2 x Warrane  Total 20	<b>Private Rental</b>  2 x Bellerive 2 x Bridgewater 1 x Coles Bay 1 x Derwent Park 1 x Glebe 3 x Glenorchy 1 x Hobart 1 x Lyndale 1 x Moonah 2 x New Town 1 x South Hobart 2 x Warrane 2 x West Hobart  Total 20
<b>Homeowner</b>  1 x Birches Bay 2 x Blackmans Bay 1 x Cambridge 1 x Claremont 1 x Dodgers Ferry 2 x Glenorchy 1 x Howrah 1 x Levendale 1 x Lindisfarne 1 x Magra 1 x Mornington 1 x New Norfolk 1 x North Hobart 1 x Saltwater River 1 x Sandy Bay 1 x South Arm 1 x South Hobart 1 x Taroona  Total 20	<b>Homebuyer</b>  1 x Berridale 1 x Carlton 1 x Coles Bay 1 x Hobart 1 x Howrah 2 x Kingston 2 x Lauderdale 1 x Lindisfarne 1 x Mornington 2 x North Hobart 1 x Old Beach 1 x Risdon Vale 1 x Snug 2 x South Hobart 1 x Triabunia 1 x West Moonah  Total 20



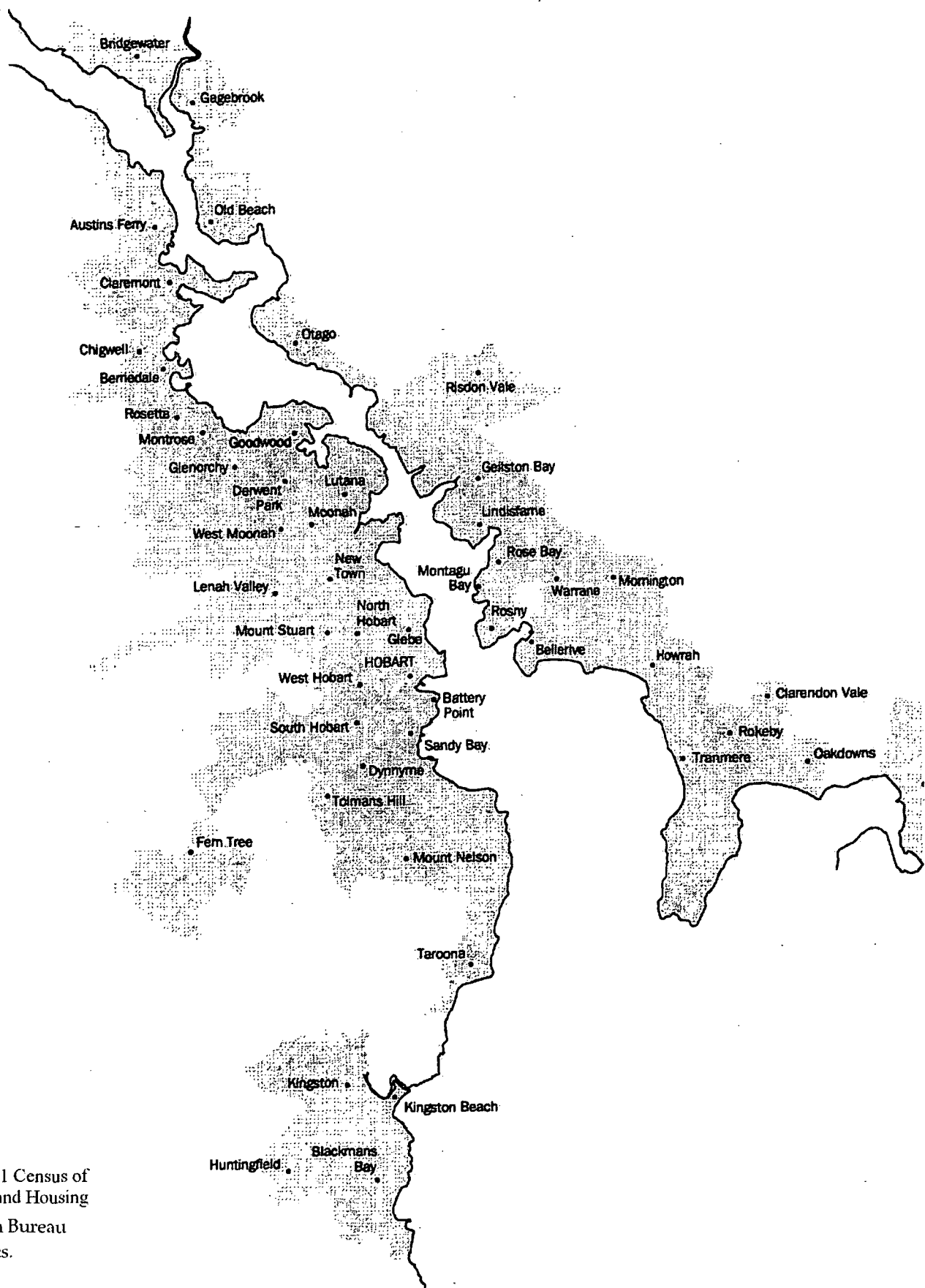
**Table A.3: Number of refusals to participate in research by suburb**

1 x Alonnah	2 x Lenah Valley
1 x Bellerive	1 x Lindisfarne
1 x Berridale	1 x Lutana
1 x Brighton	1 x Lewisham
1 x Baghdad	1 x Mount Nelson
3 x Blackmans Bay	1 x Montrose
6 x Bridgewater	7 x Moonah
6 x Claremont	2 x New Norfolk
3 x Clarendon Vale	5 x New Town
7 x Chigwell	1 x North Hobart
1 x Colbrook	1 x Opossum Bay
1 x Colinsvale	1 x Primrose Sands
1 x Cygnet	4 x Risdon Vale
1 x Dromedary	9 x Rokeby
8 x Gagebrook	2 x Sandy Bay
9 x Glenorchy	2 x Sandford
1 x Glebe	1 x Springfield
1 x Gardeners Bay	1 x Taroon
2 x Hobart	8 x Warrane
5 x Howrah	2 x West Hobart
2 x Huonville	8 x West Moonah
8 x Kingston	6 x Missing
	Total 137

Table A.4: Number of disconnected telephones by suburb

Number of disconnected telephones	Suburb
1	Austins Ferry
1	Brighton
7	Bridgewater
3	Claremont
4	Chigwell
5	Clarendon Vale
1	Dodgers Ferry
12	Gagebrook
2	Glenorchy
5	Moonah
1	New Town
1	Risdon Vale
6	Rokeby
2	Sandy Bay
2	Warrane
3	West Moonah
2	Missing
Total 58	

Map of Hobart



Source: 2001 Census of  
Population and Housing  
Australian Bureau  
of Statistics.